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FBIS-EEU-93-056 *25 March 1993*

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UN Security Council Session Cancelled; Karadzic Comments

AU2403222293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Report by Milorad Denda from New York]

[Text] The latest news from the United Nations in New York is that the Security Council session that was supposed to be held this afternoon was cancelled without a new date being set. Last night, after seven hours of negotiations, the president of the Security Council, New Zealand Ambassador O'Brien, said that a resolution on the use of force against those violating the no-fly ban over Bosnia-Herzegovina will be adopted today along with the presidential statement that supports the Vance-Owen plan and demands that all the sides reach an agreement as soon as possible. All of this was cancelled today without an official explanation.

The prevailing view among observers and diplomats in the United Nations is that it is most likely Russia that is hesitating about the adoption of a resolution that contains the first elements of direct military involvement of a foreign factor in the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis with unforeseeable, dangerous consequences at a time when its adoption could only harm Russian President Yeltsin in his uncertain tug-of-war with the parliament.

Since there are two days before dramatic decisions are reached in Moscow, before the outcome of the struggle for power between Yeltsin and parliament becomes known, and before the Congress of Deputies is held, the view here is that there was no desire to make Yeltsin's position in relation to the parliament—which criticizes the Russian president and government for their views on the Yugoslav crisis—more difficult with the adoption of a resolution that could create an impression of being partial and anti-Serbian.

In the meantime, cochairmen Vance and Owen continued talks here with Alija Izetbegovic and Mate Boban. Arriving for talks, Izetbegovic expressed surprise that the Security Council session was cancelled, which, according to him, indicates the international community's hesitation and the fact that the international community is not ready to implement its decisions. We will have to raise the question of how to implement the agreement if we sign it, he said. His entire statement confirms that he in fact set the adoption of the resolution on the use of force in the Bosnian skies as one of the conditions for signing the maps.

Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, held a news conference today at which he spoke about the misunderstandings caused by some statements and media reports last night that the Serbian delegation was leaving the negotiations. We are not leaving this round of talks or the conference, Karadzic said, stressing that he had expressed a readiness to stay in New York as long as the cochairmen considered the presence of the Serbian delegation necessary. He said that the cochairmen see no reason for him to stay and announced that if the cochairmen think that they should stay, then they will stay, and if not, they will then perhaps leave New York tonight. He said that the Muslims have demonstrated that they do not want to negotiate, that the maps in their current form are unacceptable, and that in case new sanctions were introduced against Yugoslavia, the Serbian delegation would leave the conference.

We asked Dr. Karadzic to give a short interview for Radio Belgrade:

[Begin recording] [Denda] Mr. Karadzic, you have just finished giving a news conference at the United Nations at which you explained and clarified the confusion created last night by some reports that stated you were leaving the conference. Did you clarify this with the cochairmen, and what are your feelings about this third round of talks?

[Karadzic] We explained this. Lord Owen brought me a transcript of his statement this morning, from which it was evident that he did not say we were leaving the conference, but that there was simply nothing more to discuss in this round as the positions were clear. I accepted his explanation and apologies. However, the media behaved very badly, especially CNN, who tried to blame the Serbs for this fiasco. This round of talks, if it fails—and it is possible that they will fail—it will be because the Muslim side refused to negotiate face-to-face with the Serbs and did not even want to come to the United Nations. Even if the Muslims do sign the plan, the round will not be successful because a signature on an invalid program—a program that cannot be realized without great force, not even with great force—is meaningless. It would be better if all of us made efforts to achieve substantial modifications of this project so that it will be acceptable for all three sides, rather than to sign something under pressure that was stillborn and will never spring to life.

[Denda] Are there any indications that something could nevertheless change in the face of some new negotiations?

[Karadzic] I believe that a new conference is more certain than a new round of these talks. The cochairmen are probably very tired; they were men burdened by a mission—namely, they were given the task of preventing Serbian integration in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, linking the Serbian territories, and they do not conceal it. They also do not hide the fact that the international community disputes the right of self-determination to the Serbs. This has now become obvious.

I believe there will be no success until the Serbian interests are acknowledged, or at least to the same extent that Muslim and Croatian interests are acknowledged. We do not demand that our interests be acknowledged more because of our military victory; we are not obsessed with our military victory, it is much less than it could have been, as we did not want to win. We wanted to protect ourselves and leave enough space and dignity

for the other two sides to negotiate. Therefore, I believe that if there will be a continuation and if there will be a new conference, then those who want any success will have to (?satisfy) the Serbs—that is, acknowledge the Serbian interests.

[Denda] Thank you, Mr. Karadzic. [end recording]

Karadzic Issues Statement on Talks, UN Session

AU2403201793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Statement by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] If an honest report is submitted to the Security Council and secretary general, then it will be seen that the Serbs have been cooperative all the time, particularly in the field of humanitarian aid, as well as political and military matters, by accepting everything that is acceptable and offering numerous and rich alternatives to what is not acceptable. We, therefore, expect an honest report to the Security Council.

After that, things could move in several directions. It is possible that the United Nations and international community will let us fight and bleed further while attempting to organize a third conference or return to some earlier variations of this conference. There is also a possibility that the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro—Yugoslavia—will be tightened. This would be done under the pretext of not introducing new sanctions, but rather tightening the control of the existing sanctions because they are afraid that by introducing new sanctions, they would endanger the regime in Russia. The Russian sides should veto them or it will face great difficulties at home.

I think that we should quickly reassess the situation now by asking our people what they want and how they want us to act. If our people decide to persevere in their just demands, then they should say so either in the Assembly or through a referendum. We should then fight for our aims. I think that it is high time for the entire Serbian nation—12 million people—to stand up as one and say that the international community is making a mistake. We should look for friends in the world who would reject obedience to such a United Nations and such a Security Council. These countries are, above all, Russia, China, Japan, India, and other countries that could come under the attack of the international community, an attack of those who want to create numerous small countries and who do not put up with other big states except their own, as is the case with Germany.

So, these are the possible developments in this respect. I do not believe or think that any military presence by a third party or foreign forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina has been ruled out. However, pressure on Yugoslavia is possible. We must react. If they indeed continue to pressure Serbia or Yugoslavia, then we should think along the lines of perhaps being much clearer to the world if we rejected all this, abandoned all these talks, and proclaimed our own state in its entirety or a union of our states in their entirety, and fight for support in the world.

Slovakia Protests Against Czech Flag

AU2403130993 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 19 Mar 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "In Harmony with the Law"]

[Text] Bratislava—On 28 January, the Foreign Ministry of the Slovak Republic sent a note to the Czech Republic's Foreign Ministry in which it protested against the fact that the Czech Republic—contrary to the constitutional law on the termination of the CSFR—continues to use the flag of the former CSFR.

In a reply by the Czech Republic' Foreign Ministry, it is said, among other things, that the state symbols of the Czech Republic are specified in the Czech National Council's law of 15 December 1992, article 14. Because the contradiction between the legal document of the Czech Republic—issued before the termination of the CSFR—and the Constitution of the Czech Republic on one hand, and a legal document of equal legal force—the constitutional law on the termination of the CSFR—on the other, the Czech Republic is proceeding in conformity with Article 1, Section 2 of the Czech National Council constitutional law of 15 December 1992 on measures taken in connection with the termination of the CSFR—that is, according to the Czech Republic's regulations.

Czechs, Slovaks Agree on Division of Loan

AU1803154593 Prague CTK in English 0914 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] Washington March 16 (CTK correspondent)—The Czech Republic has agreed to honor two thirds, or 450 million USD, of its obligations on a loan extended to Czechoslovakia in 1991 by the World Bank.

An agreement to this effect was signed between the Czech ambassador to the United States Michael Zantovsky and Kermal Dervis, vice-president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) in Washington last Monday [15 March].

The Slovak Republic, represented by chief of the Slovak diplomatic mission in the United States Milan Erban, signed an agreement last Friday to honor the remaining third of the loan.

The original loan was intended to help restructure the Czechoslovak economy.

Zantovsky and Dervis also signed an agreement under which the Czech Republic will repay another loan to the tune of 246 million USD, extended by the IBRD to the Czech Electricity Board (CEZ) in 1992 to help improve the environment.

Antall Urges Unified Stand by CEI Member Countries

LD2303204093 Budapest MTI in English 1814 GMT 23 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—It is extremely important for the Central European Initiative (CEI) to adopt a unified position on tensions in the region, and for member countries to coordinate their steps in the future, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said on Tuesday afternoon [23 March], receiving ministers attending the Budapest CEI Foreign Ministers' Conference.

The prime minister welcomed as a step in this direction the statement approved at the Budapest conference, noting that Russian stability and reform is linked to all international security.

Russia can do much to help settle the South Slav conflict. It is important for central European states to devote more attention to Russian developments, while also keeping the issue of the South Slav crisis in the foreground, he said.

Antall said the Central European Initiative could have a growing political, economic, and cultural role. He would welcome the organisation becoming an ever more effective means to modernise member countries, strengthen their security, and integrate them with Europe.

DPA Reports Movement of Tanks to FRY Border

LD2403140393 Hamburg DPA in German 0854 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Tirana (DPA)—Albania has moved "a large number of tanks" from around Tirana to the Yugoslav border, eyewitnesses confirmed in a telephone conversation with DPA today. A report to this effect was also published in today's KOHA JONE newspaper in Tirana. The Defense Ministry refused comment. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Denies Report

AU2403195393 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] We have just received some news from ATA entitled "No Movement of Armored Vehicles Toward the Border With Serbia."

The TANJUG agency and the newspaper KOHA JONE have been spreading deceitful news today that dozens of tanks have recently been sent to the northeastern border of Albania.

When asked by an ATA correspondent to comment on this fact, the Defense Ministry spokesman replied that this news is completely false and aims at serving those forces that are interested in increasing tension in the region and favor Belgrade's policy of violence and terror. He lastly stressed that there is no increase in troops, except for the existing ones.

Hoxha's Widow Reportedly Admitted To Prison Hospital

AU2503113193 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Mar 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: Nexhmije Hoxha Hospitalized in Prison's Hospital"]

[Text] After 15 and a half months in isolation cells, Nexhmije Hoxha was admitted to the prison hospital several days ago.

Her condition is critical. Meanwhile, she is awaiting the decision by the Court of Appeal, which she has addressed claiming innocence.

After changing her style of accommodation, being transferred from a villa to a cell, Nexhmije Hoxha has also changed her type of treatment. She has respectively also changed doctors, as the previous ones no longer attend her. Some of them are concerning themselves with politics or have occupied various positions.

Arbnori Cancels Scheduled Visit To Russia

LD2503163493 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1530 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] The Speaker of the Albanian Parliament, Peter Arbnori, cancelled the visit he was going to pay in Russia leading an Albanian delegation. The visit foreseen on 26 March will be made in a more suitable time, the press and information office of the People's Assembly informed. Making the decision known to the ambassador of the Russian Federation to Albania, Mr. Arbnori said that with such a gloomy situation prevailing in Russia our visit would be out of place. Mr. Arbnori said that the Albanian Parliament is determined to support the Russian democratic reforms. We are of the opinion that the Russian Parliament has its own contingency and the president exercised the contingency passed to him by the constitution and the people who elected him with those results. [sentence as heard]

Berisha Reviews First Year of Democracy

AU2503124593 Tirana ATA in English 1114 GMT 25 Mar 93

[ATA report: "From the interview of President Berisha with the Voice of America"]

[Text] Tirana, March 25 (ATA)—On March 23, the president of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha had an interview with the reporter of the Voice of America, Elez Biberaj. Follows a summary of the interview:

Question: Mr.President. In this first anniversary of the Albanian democracy, may we say that a real pluralistic society and a political system which responds to the needs and demands of the citizens have been set up in Albania now?

Answer: In this first anniversary of democracy in Albania, we may say that Albania marked undeniable achievements in setting up a state of law, the market economy and in regard with the fundamental human rights and freedoms. There is no doubt that postcommunist societies are postdictatoral societies, so, for the creation of a genuine democratic society a democratic legislation and a democratic stand are needed. I may say that Albanzian legislation is a democratic one, and the realisation or creation of a democratic stand of the individual is a matter than takes time.

Question: Do you think that Albanian democracy has now passed its main test?

Answer: I think that Albanian democracy has stood a difficult test. I would like to stress that Albanian democracy made its first steps forward in the conditions of the gravest and most unimaginable inheritance in Europe. It had in its basis a totally ruined economy, chaos and anarchy. Enver Hoxha conceived Albania as a bunker. During this year Albania came out of this isolation, it managed to open itself to the world and overcome almost completely the consequences of isolation in the political aspect. On the other hand, during this year, we signed two agreements with the IMF, which shows the serious character of the forces in power, their devotion to the setting up of the market economy. There may be some smoke, but we will not get back, we shall continue to road of reforms and democracy in Albania.

Question: You have refuted the demands of the communist forces for the withdrawal of the government and have implied that there will be no changes in its composition. Is there any possibility that only because the communists are demanding the withdrawal of the government, you will support even those ministers who, perhaps, are unable to carry out the tasks they are charged with?

Answer: There is no threat that for the sake of a demand, for the sake of an action I will tolerate another thing. I am convinced that they are under the full control of the parliament. Neither the premier nor me will hesitate to demand the replacement of any minister if he proves incapable in his post. [Words indistinct] even in case the government continues to work calmly, this happen not because the communists demanded its resignation but because it is following the road of reforms [sentence as received]. The Socialist Party has voted against this government since its creation, it demanded a nonconfidence vote during the approval of the budget. On the other hand, I do not like to exaggerate its demand, because we are opposition parties. For me this is not a problem.

Question: Which are your short-term and long-term objectives in the internal and foreign policies?

Answer: Our short-term objectives regarding internal policy is privatization, acceleration of its rates in all the fields. Our long-term objectives are our fields of priority such as agriculture, construction of infrastructure, and tourism in Albania. In the foreign policy our aim is Albania's integration in Europe, opening of Albania in order to be a factor of peace and stability in the region.

People's Assembly Approved 135 Laws Within Year

AU2503155993 Tirana ATA in English 1121 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 25 (ATA)—From the beginning of the 13th legislature and precisely from April 7, 1992, with the approval of the first Law on the Flag, Emblem, Capital of the Republic of Albania and the National Anthem until now, 135 approved laws bear the seal of the Albanian democratic People's Assembly.

All the laws approved have had their own vital importance in the respective fields, but the package of laws on the reform, the organization and functioning of the local government, the organization of law and changes to the Penal Code, state enterprises, privatization of dwelling houses, state organization, the former political prisoners and persecuted ones, the fundamental human rights and freedoms, etc., are of specific importance.

Military Delegation Led by Vasho Leaves for Greece

AU2403165293 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 24 (ATA)—At the invitation of the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Greece, General Dhimitrios Scaverlis, an Albanian military delegation led by Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho left for Greece on March 23 on an official and friendly visit.

During its three-day visit, the Albanian delegation will visit military institutions and units, it will have meetings and talks with senior authorities of the Greek Army, and will sign a protocol of cooperation for the current year, part of the joint agreement signed by the two ministers of defence. It will contribute to consolidation of the relations between our two countries and armies.

Zhelev Plans U.S. Visit at End of April

AU2403144393 Sofia BTA in English 1252 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—In an extensive interview for STANDART NEWS today, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev says the latest developments in Russia are "quite complicated." For this reason, the statement of the presidential spokesman a few days ago on the turn of events in Russia contains the phrase a "formally undemocratic act."

"Current developments in Russia relate to the formal, outer side of the issue. The key problem there are the reforms. These are not ordinary reforms, as they have to change Russia radically," the Bulgarian president says. He says not everything taking place in Russia now should be viewed as usurpation of power.

Preparations are under way for a visit of Dr. Zhelev to the United States in late April. He will confer with U.S. President Bill Clinton about problems facing eastern Europe, mostly in the economy, and about the situation in the Balkans and in Russia.

Asked about the relations among institutions in Bulgaria, Mr. Zhelev notes that, in the present period of transition and social tensions, the presidential institution should be stable and serve as a guarantor of peace in post-totalitarian society. He says he does not feel he should ask the nation to trust him in a referendum. "But I personally have never feared such a democratic procedure," Mr. Zhelev says. The Bulgarian president should have a right to sponsor legislation, according to Dr. Zhelev. If he had a legislative power, he would move bills on defence and the Armed Forces, on a consultative council for national security and on the justice system.

Asked about the economic reform, Mr. Zhelev would not say anything bad about any government. "The reform has been effected by several governments and each has a place in the promotion of the democratic process," Mr. Zhelev says. He says one cannot dismiss what the government of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] [passage indistinct] relations between the SDS leaders and Mr. Zhelev, the coalition's first leader. A resolution passed by the SDS national conference earlier this month called on the president to resign. Asked how his ties with the SDS leadership will evolve, Dr. Zhelev says this depends on developments in this country and on how the Berov cabinet will work. The president said he was ready to make the first step towards a compromise with the SDS. "But you cannot compromise on fundamental moral values, not just in relations with the SDS, but in any case," he says later on in his interview.

Zhelev Discusses BTA's Independence With Journalists

AU2403203293 Sofia BTA in English 1632 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—Today President Zhelyu Zhelev received a group of BTA journalists representing the BTA employees who signed in the petition for guaranteeing the news agency's independence and protested against the possible dismissal of BTA Director General Ivo Indzhev.

The position that the independence of BTA must be guaranteed by the law, placing it beyond the control of changing governments' ad hoc policy, was met with understanding by the head of state.

According to President Zhelev, BTA employees have nothing to worry about.

Last Wednesday [17 March] the 24 CHASA daily reported the cabinet's intention to dismiss Mr. Indzhev. On the evening of the same day, after a meeting with leaders of the parliamentary groups, Prime Minister Berov said that Ivo Indzhev would be dismissed on the following day. On Thursday, March 18, the Council of Ministers decided to put off the consideration of the issue.

On Monday this week a petition in defence of BTA Director General Ivo Indzhev, signed in by most journalists and other employees at BTA, was officially handed to the Presidency and the prime minister.

Citizens Protest Suspension of Free Medicines

AU2403202193 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—The decision of the cabinet to suspend the entitlement of children under six years of age and of pregnant women to free medication stirred up strong protests.

A large group of Sofianites gathered for a protest procession to the building of the Council of Ministers today. It was organized by the Large Families Union. The union's representatives handed a declaration to the government insisting to revoke the decision.

Last week the Bulgarian Government repealed the free medication ordinance operating until then. The government's spokesman explained that this was not an inhuman or antisocial act because a new ordinance would enter into force entitling persons suffering from chronic diseases and children of socially disadvantaged families (with per capita income under 600 leva or about 25 dollars) to free medicines.

However, at today's special press conference, representatives of the initiative committee of mothers, who had launched a sign-in campaign in the busiest places in Sofia against the suspension of free medication entitlement, countered the cabinet's motives pointing out that it costs over 600 leva a month to provide food for a child under 3 years of age and over 800 leva for a child between 3 and 6. The committee's spokeswoman, Boryana Georgieva, reported that mothers' week-long protest was supported by 17,000 Sofianites. She cited the results of a poll conducted by the private MBMD Institute of Marketing and Public Opinion Research which

show that 91 percent of Bulgarians support the mothers' protest. According to her, the Parliamentary Health Care Committee is also against the government's decision.

Today the leadership of one of the country's two major trade union amalgamations, the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, issued a declaration calling upon the government to revise its decision.

Cabinet Pledges Help To Unify Orthodox Church

AU2403222093 Sofia BTA in English 2001 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Government will do everything within its power, acting in compliance with the law and the canons of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, to help for the recovery and unification of the Bulgarian Church, it is said in an announcement of the Council of Ministers' Press Service circulated in connection with the numerous addresses of religious and public figures, National Assembly members, politicians and trade-union leaders to the government and Prime Minister Lyuben Berov calling for their assistance in overcoming the dissension at the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.

The Press Service of the Council of Ministers is authorized to state that the first decisive step, which the government has made in accordance with the Constitution, Bulgarian law and the church canons, was to dismiss the director of the Directorate of Religious Faiths, Metodi Spasov. Mr. Spasov was dismissed yesterday by order of the prime minister. An inspection is being made of the directorate's activity, examining all acts signed by its former director, Metodi Spasov, which practically have contributed a lot to the dissension in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the press release says.

Commentary Views Rakovski Officers Legion's 'Evolution'

AU2403165493 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Mar 93 p 7

[Commentary by Vasil Popov: "Only Timid Rulers Can Be Afraid of the Rakovski Legion"]

[Text] In the era prior to 10 November 1989 the establishment of an officers' organization such as the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion would have been not merely difficult, but totally impossible. Even after this date, when the terms reform, change, and replacement of the system became household words, and numerous people tried to please the new system by demonstrating active reformism, and even pretending to be much more liberal than they really were, it was easier to establish any party or public organization with vague objectives than to legalize an army officers' organization of the aforementioned type.

At the Euromil [European Association of Military Organizations] session recently held in Sofia, a report was read out that revealed that the Bulgarian military was not the only one to have to face similar problems. Portuguese noncommissioned officers, for example, were subject to prosecution and arrests before their professional organization was recognized in their country.

Even the most cursory examination of the reasons for denying the right to establish an organization aimed at the professional and social protection of the officer class reveals the concern of the rulers for their own power. The initial efforts of the legion to establish their organization, which encountered numerous obstacles, were accompanied by misgivings which culminated in the questions—whose people are these boys, who is protecting them, and whom are they likely to support, the president, the government, or the General Staff? Or were they likely to turn against everyone and prepare a coup? Every single declaration, every single action of the legion's leadership was viewed from this angle. It is a different matter whether all public statements of the legion members were sufficiently precise, well considered and measured. It is a also a different matter as to how many of the legion's leaders were prompted by personal ambitions.

In order to show the extent of his democratic spirit, Ludzhev, as defense minister, supported the legion. He relied on its wholehearted support, especially against the expected resistance of the bureaucratic General Staff as it was composed in those days. Nevertheless, Ludzhev threatened to ban the organization as soon as the legion members reprimanded him for the hasty purge of the officers' corps, which left the Army deprived of its basic professional staff.

Ludzhev's successor, Staliyski, pretended not to notice that a thing such as the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion even existed. Perhaps it really escaped his nebulous look, because the notorious bill on Army reform that he drafted did not even contain a line on the right of officers to professional and social protection. The legion members' comment was: We shall again stand to attention and be treated as a negligible element.

After becoming a member of Euromil, in addition to legalizing its status on the domestic level through official registration, the legion also enhanced its own prestige by its active affiliation to a European structure. At the recent Euromil session held in Sofia, President Jens Rotbol pointed out that the Bulgarian Officers' Legion is loyal to democratic principles and defends the human rights of citizens in uniform. According to the Defense Minister, the legion has undergone a painful evolution under which its leaders were transformed from party soldiers to soldiers of the nation, before finally becoming "citizens in uniform."

Perhaps the legion is destined to proceed even further, as long as it does not frighten the next politicians.

KNSB Criticises Personnel Changes

AU2403201993 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), one of this country's two major trade union amalgamations, does not deny the efforts of Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet to get the structural reform off the ground and make some moderate corrections in its budget and social policies, but believes that the cabinet's mode of work and its personnel decisions give ground for worry and disappointment, it is emphasized in the declaration of KNSB leadership made public at a press conference today.

The trade-union leaders state that personnel changes on a mass scale have been going on at the economic enterprises and the top state administration for two months now. Structural transformations are being made disguising them by arguments that this is done for the sake of economic expedience. The developments at Neftokhim and the power engineering system, the forthcoming structural and "personnel fights" in the armament industry and the Committee of Geology are cited as examples.

Nobody would deny the right of the new executive branch to carry out administrative changes, however, in a number of cases the Council of Ministers' decisions are not sovereign but made under external pressure and by succumbing to backstage machinations engineered mainly by some circles in the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, the Alternative Social Liberal Party, the B-12 group, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, business organizations and even by the Presidency, the KNSB leaders' declaration goes. The KNSB leaders believe that the transformations and purges of persons have a sole purpose: to regain lost ground or win new key positions in anticipation of privatization. The KNSB leaders admit that this could be also a policy pursued in revenge for some unprincipled decisions made by the previous cabinet.

The KNSB leadership calls on parliament to exercise its right to control and demand an explanation from the competent authorities and executives for the unjustified personnel and structural changes.

KNSB spokeswoman Diana Damyanova told the press conference that today the KNSB leadership submitted an official proposal to the Parliamentary Economic Committee for the adoption of legal instruments that would give workers, employees and managers broader access to privatization.

The KNSB expresses its concern over the fact that the executive lacks a clear-cut strategy for making privatization more accessible. The trade-union leaders insist that the property changes begin under the conditions of the operative legislation without handing out privatization vouchers all along the line. They believe that the Privatization Act is unclear, it does not provide the companies' management and labour collectives with enough incentives for participation in the privatization process.

The KNSB proposes to change the approach in selecting the enterprises which are to go private in such a way as to overcome the absolute lack of interest in the sale of loss-making economic units.

The KNSB is ready to present projects for the amendment of the legal framework of privatization.

Polish Defense Delegation Signs Memorandum, Ends Talks

AU2403202093 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 24 (BTA)—The consultations between the delegation of the Polish Ministry of National Defence, headed by Deputy Minister of National Defence Przemyslaw Grudzinski, and the representatives of the Bulgarian Ministry of Defence, headed by Deputy Minister of Defence Mikhail Srebrev, ended their consultations today, the Press Service of the Ministry of Defence informed.

A memorandum was signed setting out the main lines along which the two countries should restore and promote their military cooperation.

It is planned to coordinate a draft agreement on cooperation between the two ministries that could possibly be signed by December 15, 1993, the press release goes.

Klaus Reiterates No Sudeten Restitution

AU2403164993 Prague CTK in English 1541 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Munich, March 22 (CTK)—The Czech Republic has not made any pledge to open talks with Sudeten Germans, but does want to explain to them the position of the Czech Government, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists at the start of his official two-day visit to Germany today.

Klaus met here with Bavarian Minister-President Max Streibl, who said that his government supported discussions between the Czech Republic and Sudeten Germans on the Germans' property claims. Klaus said that the unequivocal position of the Czech Government was that no restitution or compensation claims from before February 25, 1948 would be considered.

Czechoslovakia expelled most of its Sudeten Germans after the end of World War II, under decrees approved by the allies at Potsdam in August 1945.

Streibl said that a dialogue with the Sudeten Germans is the best way to come to a mutual understanding. He noted, however, that the Sudeten question is not an obstacle to the development of relations between Prague and Munich.

Streibl said that mid-1995 is a realistic date for the completion of an oil pipeline from the Bavarian town of Ingolstadt to the Czech Republic. The Bavarian cabinet fully supports this project and will do everything possible to launch construction next year, he said.

Klaus and Streibl also discussed the possibility of building a highway from Nuremberg to Prague, and of speeding up customs clearance at Czech-Bavarian border crossings. They also discussed joint ecological projects and common efforts to fight organised crime.

Klaus will travel to Bonn on Tuesday [23 March] to meet with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Havel Issues Statement on Issue

AU2403165193 Prague CTK in English 1958 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, March 21 (CTK)—The Czech Republic's stand to the Sudeten Germans' claims would not change, Czech President Vaclav Havel said in a statement passed to CTK by his spokesman Ladislav Spacek today.

Vaclav Havel has said this already many times, for the last time during his official visit to Austria. Whenever the president spoke critically about the postwar transfer of Germans, he always stressed that this was a historical reflection, which can change nothing on the fact that from the legal and economic points of view, the transfer of Germans from the Sudeten has been closed, Spacek said.

He was reacting to a statement by Sudeten German Spokesman Franz Neubauer at a weekend session of the Sudeten German parliament in Munich. Neubauer said that Havel's words in Austria opened up opportunities for further dialogue with the Sudeten Germans.

He also spoke about the hopes aroused by Havel's visit to Austria, and stressed that it was not possible for the Czechs to continue to reject the restitution of property to the Sudeten Germans and expect new German investments at the same time.

After a meeting with Austrian President Thomas Klestil in Vienna on March 15, he said that he personally considers the transfer of Sudeten Germans an injustice. Havel paid a two-day state visit to Austria March 15-16.

Czech Foreign Minister and Deputy Chairman of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) Josef Zieleniec said on Friday [19 March] that he would discuss this statement with Havel. He added that the president had the right to express his personal views.

At an ODS press conference on Thursday [18 March], Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik (ODS) said that the ODS was concerned about Havel's statement.

The property of Sudeten Germans was nationalised under the decrees issued by the then Czechoslovak President Edvard Benes in 1945. Some 2.5 million Sudeten Germans were expelled from Czechoslovakia in accord with the Potsdam Conference.

In reaction to the Germans' property claims, the former Czechoslovakia and now also the Czech Republic have made it clear that no restitutions will be made beyond February 25, 1948, the date when the communists seized power in Czechoslovakia.

Government Not Ready for Treaty With Germany

AU2403163593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 23 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by "(jem)": "For the Time Being, We Are Not Going To Sign a Treaty on Refugees With Germany"]

[Text] Prague—The Czech Republic will not discuss with Germany the treaty on readmission of refugees from third countries unless it concludes similar treaties with Poland and Hungary. According to Beata Bernatikova, deputy press spokesman of the Interior Ministry, Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendyrch, who visited Bonn last week, told the German side this. The Czech Republic wants the Czech-Slovak borders to be secured, legislative amendments made to Czech regulations on providing asylum, and other administrative measures to be taken before the readmission treaty with Germany is discussed. Bernatikova said that when he was in Germany Deputy Interior Minister Fendrych did not discuss the date when the treaty between the Czech Republic and Germany on readmission of refugees could be concluded.

Klaus Sends Letter to Meciar on Shares

LD2403192093 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The government today discussed the Slovak response to its decision to suspend the issue of shares from the first wave of coupon privatization. Eva Hulkova reports:

[Hulkova] As Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus reported, a letter was sent to the government of the Slovak Republic clearly outlining the stance of the Czech Government. The letter reads:

[Begin Klaus recording] I thank the prime minister of the Slovak Government for the letter containing the stance of the Slovak Government. I would first like to stress the urgency of finding a solution to remaining open issues ensuing from the division of the Federation, namely the solution to issues pertaining to property settlement. The decision made by the Czech Government, to which you respond in your letter, was motivated by the awareness of this urgency and the readiness to sign immediately the basic agreements on property settlement, border crossings and small-scale tourism in border areas.

I cannot hide my disappointment over the fact that the Slovak Government, as well as you personally, do not feel the same urgency. This is evident also from the fact that your letter was sent by fax three days after the session of the Slovak Government, about which you informed me. Moreover, your letter, unfortunately, does not respond to the basic issue, which was the purpose and content of my letter, that is the readiness of the Czech Government to solve the remaining open issues in a constructive way.

We believe it is necessary to solve these issues without further delay and have assigned Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic Josef Zieleniec to contact Mr. Moravcik, the Slovak minister of foreign affairs, to take steps leading to the expeditious conclusion of this matter. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Klaus Warns Against Split in Society

AU2403164593 Prague CTK in English 1608 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, March 21 (CTK)—Commemorating the 600th anniversary of the martyr death of Bohemian Saint Jan Nepomuk (Nepomucene) today, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus warned against a split of the Czech society at the start of the new Czech state.

Klaus was speaking at Nepomuk near Plzen, West Bohemia, the native place of Nepomucene. A mass was celebrated in the town's square by Prague Archbishop Miloslav Vlk.

Klaus recalled that Nepomucene had been often comprehended as a counterbalance to the Hussite Movement, led by Bohemian religious reformer John Hus (1369-1415) and was thus one of the symptoms of the fatal division of the Czech society into the Protestants and the Catholics.

Repetition of this could be very dangerous (to the Czech state) and we must be able to avoid it, Klaus stressed.

Nepomucene, 1340-1393, was canonised in 1729.

Klaus said it is now necessary to remedy the Czech economy, to restore fundamental moral and political values, and to seek and find common Czech patriotism which would unite all citizens of the Czech state irrespective of their nationality, religious and political persuasion.

Nepomucene's moral bequest to the whole world was also pointed out by Apostolic Nuncio in the Czech Republic Giovanni Coppa.

Bishop Antonin Liska of Ceske Budejovice (West Bohemia) delivered a message from Pope John Paul II.

Weekly Views Coalition Dispute Over Church Restitution

AU2403164893 Prague CTK in English 1339 GMT 23 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, March 23 (CTK)—The chairmen of the four Czech Government coalition parties have arrived at only a global agreement on the restitution of church property, writes the Czech political weekly RESPEKT.

Since the overthrow of the communist rule in the former Czechoslovakia in late 1989 some monasteries, convents, and several hundred buildings, confiscated after the communist 1948 coup, have been returned to the churches.

But the rest of the property, a total of about 45,000 hectares of agricultural land, 100,000 hectares of forests, and several thousands of buildings, has not been returned yet and is still claimed by the churches.

The churches are supported by two minor coalition parties of Christian affiliation, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS).

The KDU-CSL threatened in January by its withdrawal from the government coalition if the church restitution claims are not rapidly satisfied.

The biggest coalition member, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), rejected last weekend the comprehensive restitution of the church property.

The pending conflict was averted only by last week's meeting of the government parties, which agreed to solve the restitution of the church property along with the issue of the future relationship between the state and churches.

The churches, government and opposition parties agree only in one point: The churches should become economically self-sufficient within a few years. The question is how this can be achieved, writes RESPEKT.

The Christian parties are enforcing comprehensive restitution, that means return of everything which had belonged to the churches.

The ODS along with its coalition partner, the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), and with part of the opposition favour the restitution of only carefully listed property the churches really need for their activities.

The former proceeding, proposed by the Christian parties, would result in a change in the February 1948 deadline which was set for restitution claims as some of the church property had been nationalised within the land reform carried out in July 1947.

This might bring about an immense number of other restitution claims (such as those by Sudeten Germans) reaching deep before February 1948.

The property, currently registered by the Czech Ministry of Culture, yields 80 million crowns (2.7 million USD [U.S. dollars]) a year. But the upkeep of the church objects would require some 30 billion crowns (1 billion USD).

The annual operational costs of the Catholic Church exceed at present 300 million crowns (10 million USD) and maintenance requires another two billion crowns.

Novak Elected CSSD First Deputy Chairman

AU2403164493 Prague CTK in English 1837 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, March 21 (CTK)—Pavel Novak, a representative of the moderate wing in the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), was elected CSSD first deputy chairman by the party's Central Executive Committee in Prague today.

Novak, 50, who lost to the radical Milos Zeman, 49, in the election of the CSSD chairman on February 27, defeated in today's voting another two CSSD deputy chairmen, Vaclav Grulich and Petr Moravek. The remaining two deputy chairmen, Jaromir Kuca and Petra Buzkova, did not run for the post of the first deputy chairman.

Zeman, a former deputy to the now-defunct Federal Assembly, told journalists that both wings within the CSSD are proportionately represented in the party's Presidium which was also elected today. He believes that the two wings have been coming closer to one another and that they can effectively cooperate.

The moderates want to seek dialogue with the government, while the radicals will badger the government, as Zeman has put it. The party now has about 12,000 members, Zeman said. The CSSD is an opposition party which has 16 seats in the 200-seat Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament.

Official Claims Slovakia Owes Former CSFR Bank 24.7 Billion

AU2403164693 Prague CTK in English 2053 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, March 22 (CTK)—Slovakia has claims of approximately 5.5 billion crowns in the Czech Republic, but owes the former Czechoslovak State Bank 24.7 billion crowns, said Czech National Bank Spokesman Martin Svehla today on Czech Television.

Svehla was responding to Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's statement today on Slovak Radio that Slovakia also has claims on the Czech Republic, but that the Czechs do not want to accept them.

Dlouhy Asks Banks To Assume More Economic Responsibility

AU2403164393 Prague CTK in English 2051 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Prague, March 22 (CTK)—Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy said today that the burden of overall taxation combined with social and health insurance payments is too heavy for beginner businessmen.

Speaking at a public meeting in Znojmo, South Moravia, Dlouhy said that the state's taxation policy should be clearly defined in the second half of the year.

Dlouhy said the government is preparing for serious talks with banks whose policy does not correspond to the needs of the Czech economy. It is necessary to agree on certain changes in the banks' policies, he added.

Dlouhy pointed to the banks' high interest rates on which, he said, they cannot build their long-term existence. He said the Czech economy badly needs banks to assume some of the responsibility for its future development.

Bank Spokesman Explains Division of Gold Stock

LD2403173593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Following the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank, the Czech Republic is claiming the sum of about 24 billion korunas from Slovakia. Today, Daniela Galikova, our correspondent in Prague, spoke with Czech National Bank spokesman Martin Svehla about this biggest and still contentious claim by our closest neighbors. Also discussed was the gold treasure and its division.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Galikova] Mr. Svehla, there is a claim—it was recently recalled by Prime Minister Meciar—concerning the gold treasure

once owned by the Czechoslovak State Bank. How was this treasure divided? What is the proportion of the so-called Slovak gold treasure?

[Svehla] Much has already been said about the Slovak gold treasure. It will be better to stick to 105 tonnes of gold administered by the Czechoslovak State Bank as part of foreign currency reserves, which should be divided according to the 2:1 ratio. And so, if my calculations are correct, then approximately 35 tonnes of gold belongs to the Slovak Republic and about 70 tonnes to the Czech Republic. Of this total amount, a certain proportion, which is about 30 percent of the gold, has been deposited in leading foreign banks. The division of this part of the gold reserves was comparatively simple, and was carried out at the beginning of the year, when the authorization to use them was handed over. Seventy percent of this amount has been deposited on the territory of the former federation, or in other words, partially in the Czech Republic and partially in the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted] [end recording]

National Council Adopts Resolution on Gabcikovo

LD2403131593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] The National Council of the Slovak Republic has adopted a resolution this morning on the dispute over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project. Alexander Picha reports:

[Picha] The resolution accuses the Hungarian parliament's February resolution to world parliaments and the United Nations of distorting the very essence of the Gabcikovo problem and of wrongly accusing Slovakia of violating the territorial integrity of Hungary.

Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik confirmed in parliament that the resolution was in harmony with the intentions of Meciar's government. At the same time he proposed a softening of some formulations, but the parliament did not accept it despite some objections from Hungarian deputies. The aim of the Slovak Government and parliament is to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice in The Hague as quickly as possible.

Julius Binder, director of the Slovak Water Management and Construction Company, noted, however, that before that an agreement with Hungary must be reached on a clear water regime on the Danube. Slovak officials fear that the preliminary resolutions by The Hague court might disrupt the current regime and cause financial damage to Slovakia.

Slovaks Vow Not To 'Reciprocate' Over Czech Share Option

AU2403164793 Prague CTK in English 1623 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava, March 22 (CTK)—The Slovak cabinet have vowed not to reciprocate over the Czech cabinet decision last week to postpone issuing Czech companies' shares to Slovak investment coupon holders, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak Radio today.

He described as a breach of international law and manifestation of disrespect towards citizens based on national prejudice the Czech cabinet's action to withhold till later shares acquired by the Slovaks in Czech companies during last year's first wave of privatisation.

Meciar said that 40 tonnes of Slovak gold are still being kept by the Czech Republic. It is beyond doubt that we should obtain payments for supplies of gas, and yet, although we keep our part of the deal to the letter, no money has been deposited so far, Meciar recalled.

Meciar To Meet Yeltsin in Moscow Today

LD2503100093 Prague CTK in English 0938 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow, March 25 (CTK correspondent)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, who arrived yesterday in Moscow for an official visit, is to meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin, as it was confirmed here today. Meciar will start today talks with the Russian leadership.

Meciar, who came to Moscow for a scheduled visit at a moment when the Russian crisis of power is culminating, will be obviously the first foreign statesman to meet Yeltsin since the latter addressed the people on Saturday [20 March]. The Peoples Deputies Congress convened for Friday may pass a vote of no-confidence on Yeltsin.

The Slovak government delegation, consisting also of Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, Economics Minister Jaroslav Kubecka, and Finance Minister Julius Toth, will hold plenary talks with their Russian partners this morning.

The Russian delegation is to be headed by Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin who was not able to welcome Meciar at the Moscow Vnukovo Airport because he had acted on Wednesday as mediator in the meeting between Yeltsin and his opponent, Parliament Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Moravcik's meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is to return from Washington, is to take place in the afternoon.

Meciar wants to negotiate in Moscow especially the opportunities of economic cooperation. During his visit, a Russian-Slovak trade and economic agreement, a memorandum on some issues of mutual economic relations, and a protocol on cooperation of the Foreign Ministries will be signed.

Meciar Asked To Clarify Allegations About Plans To Resign

AU2403170393 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Mar 93 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Responsibility of the (Ir) Responsible"]

[Text] Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky has publicly expressed the fear that Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Chairman and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar might respond to the growing pressures within his movement and the mounting problems in the social and economic spheres by throwing in the towel and ridding himself of the political responsibility for subsequent developments. The same fear has also been expressed, though thus far not in public, by representatives of some other opposition parties. They argue that this would accord with his nature, which is one of the reasons for his inscrutability to both the domestic audience and the outside world and the very reason that the outside world is hesitant to pour fresh blood into the Slovak economy in the form of financial transfusions.

Should these fears, which now exist only in the form of speculations on what might happen, become reality, it would be a catastrophe for Slovakia. The prime minister should express himself clearly on this point, at the very least by means of a commitment to the president and parliament, if not by a commitment to the citizens, more than one-third of whom elevated him to his present position, in view of his pledge, proclaimed on countless occasions, to lead Slovakia to prosperity and democracy.

This is his obligation not only toward HZDS voters and the constantly declining number of those who support the movement and him personally, but also toward the state he represents. It is not customary for a government to surrender voluntarily after less than a year in office and to hand over power to the unknown. It seems that no one from the opposition is ready to pick up the reins of power, even if they are left lying around in the street. And, even if someone were willing to pick them up, the consequences for the HZDS and Vladimir Meciar personally would evidently be ruinous.

Responsibility is one of the main attributes of respectable policy. Playing with the idea of taking refuge in attack, in one way or another, would transcend the limits and would vitiate our efforts for a long time to come.

Press Considers Sharp Decline in Meciar's Popularity

AU2403165793

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENIK and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 March both publish items dealing with the spectacular drop in Prime Minister Meciar's popularity.

Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENIK in Slovak on 20 March on page 3 carries a 300-word "uvz"-signed commentary entitled "Where is Vladimir Meciar Getting Lost?" The commentary draws attention to the results of the latest poll on the popularity of Slovak politicians conducted by the weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK. It says: "SLOBODNY PIATOK, the prime minister's 'court' weekly, in whose polls Vladimir Meciar has always figured as the unchallenged leader, is flabbergasted. In the journalists' poll we find Vladimir Meciar only in the ninth place. Journalists, how dare you? In the comprehensive table for the month of February (which includes points from readers, journalists, and from a representative poll conducted by the Slovak Statistical Office) we see that the prime minister has been overtaken by Michal Kovac, Milan Knazko, and Peter Weiss. Fortunately, there also exists the confidence poll where Vladimir Meciar still leads. He is trusted by one-quarter of the population."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 20 March on page 3 carries a 600- word Marian Lesko commentary entitled "Full Circle After Three Years." The commentary considers the development of Vladimir Meciar's standing in opinion polls over the past three years. Lesko says: "In April 1990 Vladimir Meciar ranked seventh in popularity polls. The greatest popularity was enjoyed by Calfa, who was followed by Dubcek, Cic, Kusy, Schuster, and Kosta. In May he advanced to the fourth place and in October he was second only to Dubcek. In the spring of 1991 he already topped the poll, enjoying the support of an incredible 80 percent [of respondents]. The saddest moment in his political career—the dismissal from the post of prime minister in April 1991—at the same time marked the peak of his popularity. Ever since then, Meciar's popularity has been falling. Initially, by only a few percentage points a month, which added up to about 30 percent for the year. But only in the last three months has the decline been drastic, by 10 percent a month. In February, when his dispute with Milan Knazko was only starting, Vladimir Meciar's status dropped to the record low of 25 percent, while Knazko's popularity has doubled in the wake of the conflict. In case the present trend continues in March, Vladimir Meciar will in the spring of 1993 get back to the level of three years ago. The only difference is that at that time he was only the minister of interior and a man of limited political importance whereas now he is the man with whom the government stands and falls."

Lesko does not view the "massive decline" of Meciar's popularity itself as extraordinary and believes that the current level of support for the prime minister is "more natural" than the erstwhile support of 80 percent of the Slovak population. In Lesko's opinion, Meciar and his party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, should not "try to halt this fall by the desperate effort to remain a universally popular movement 'for everyone'" but should try to "assume a clearer political profile" and rally around themselves a "smaller camp of stable supporters."

Kovac: News Agency Must Be President's 'Extended Hand'

LD2403205493 Prague CTK in English 2022 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava, March 24 (CTK)—The news agency of the Slovak Republic (TA SR) must be the extended hand of the Slovak president in furthering the interests of Slovakia and in its presentation abroad, Slovak President Michal Kovac told TA SR's board of directors here today.

TA SR is preparing the first issue of its new magazine, to be called "REPUBLIKA", which will hit news stands on March 25.

Former Communists Get Employment in Security Service

AU2403202593 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 23 Mar 93 p 12

[Commentary by Ivan Vilcek: "State Security Members Are Given Priority!"]

[Text] From 1 January, all Slovak constituents of the former federal security and defense agencies have been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Slovak Republic.

This was also the case in the Czechoslovak Army, the police units of the former Federal Interior Ministry deployed in Slovakia—such as the passport office, for example, and others. The only federal agency whose members were not offered this opportunity was the former Federal Security and Information Service [FSIS].

Based on the law of the National Council of the Slovak Republic of 21 January 1993 (this law was passed exactly three months after it had been passed in the Czech Republic), the establishment of the Slovak Information Service (SIS) began in Slovakia. Instead of utilizing the experience of former FSIS members, these members were dismissed on 31 December 1992, and until today they have not been offered an opportunity to work in the intelligence service, even if they had shown an interest in doing so. Most of them lost patience and found jobs in the civilian sector, and others are still jobless. According to information provided by former FSIS Deputy Director Vladimir Palko, the Slovak part of the FSIS was effectively liquidated, the part that could have become the basis for the new SIS. The matter is even more surprising if we consider that the FSIS was established as the only security agency in the former CSFR which did not have any continuity with the former regime. New people, who had never been a part of the State Security, or any other security agency, worked in it. Indeed, there were people who had been prosecuted by the State Security, or even imprisoned for political reasons in the past, working for the FSIS.

If we realize that it was no small amount that was invested in training these people—many of them attended intelligence courses in Western countries—then it is erroneous, to put in mildly, not to use their experience. Unlike the Czech Republic, where a large part of the FIS has been completely transferred to the Czech Republic's Security and Information Service, these people are prevented from continuing their work. It has been verified that no one is working on the cases that these people had been working on, and the process of establishing the SIS is proving very slow.

It is obvious that the existing Slovak echelons consider people who worked for federal agencies in the past to be their adversaries, greater adversaries then former State Security members. This does not help improve the bad reputation of Slovakia's leaders in the world, and, at the same time, it puts at risk the security of the country under the Tatra mountains. Members of the former State Security are given priority in the security agencies. Here State Security members who were cast aside are being given the opportunity to satisfy their human need for revenge. Another item of information provided by Vladimir Palko is characteristic of this situation. He says that the liquidation of SIS property in Slovakia was carried out by a high State Security officer, who had been dismissed by the new people in the intelligence service immediately after November 1989.

People who raised their voices against Communist rule—not people servile to the totalitarian regime—have become enemy number one in Slovakia. Milan Knazko has been dismissed from his post in the Slovak Government. He is probably the only one in Meciar's government who has no Communist past. Vladimir Meciar's predecessor in the post of prime minister, Jan Carnogursky, who was imprisoned and prosecuted by the Communist regime, is Meciar's principal personal adversary. In this context, the fact that President Michal Kovac appointed Milan Cic to an important position in the Constitutional Court sounds like a tragicomical farce. This is the man who was the minister of justice in the most recent Communist government! Does this really make him the best qualified to watch over the constitutionality of all the decisions? Since the tip of the iceberg is so reddish, it is no wonder that all the constitutional organizations have the same tint. It seems that after the new Slovak information service is established, Slovakia will have taken another step backward.

Moravcik Says Central European Initiative Politicized

LD2403152793 Prague CTK in English 1431 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava, March 24 (CTK)—The tendencies to politicise the Central European Initiative (CEI) more than Slovakia considers optimal appeared at its session in Budapest, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said at todays press conference. Moravcik attended the CEI session on March 22-23.

Slovakia was trying to stress the pragmatic approach following-up the diplomatic activities of the former Czechoslovakia, said Moravcik. According to Moravcik, the political dimension also influenced the declaration of the CEI session and the member states arrived at a common attitude towards the former Yugoslavia and Russia.

Moravcik informed that a decision on the organisation of a conference on the national minorities rights was adopted. Slovakia disagrees with the views of some CEI member states representatives that this conference should be conserved as a permanent mechanism.

The views of Hungary and Slovakia on whether or not the issue of a global solution to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project should be linked with the temporary regime on the Danube differed, said Moravcik.

Slovakia is interested in a comprehensive solution to the hydroelectric project, said Moravcik.

Antall Continues Criticism of Csurka

AU2403093593 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Mar 93 pp 4, 5

[Second part of interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Jeno Balasko; place and date not given: "Istvan Csurka Has Been and Still Is Preparing To Seize Political Power"]

[Text] [Balasko] Lately, we have been talking too much about the center. Opposing political forces consider themselves to be representatives of the center. Please, expound your views on this.

[Antall] I would like to make it clear that, in politics, the definition of center means an area that has a left center, a center, and a right center, as in a soccer team forward line, it means a broad area of play from the inside left to the inside right. Therefore, the center forward is not always in the center. But this is the essence of it. For the existence of the center, it is necessary for people to be able to follow certain rules of constitutional law and politics, and to at least understand each other in politics, in the economic government, and in everything, and to exist in this way, in this area. This is how it is done everywhere where political life is based on two parties—as in the United States—or two big parties operate with one small one—as in Great Britain or Germany—but even in places where there are a number of parties, usually two focal points are formed—France is a good example of this just now. [Former French President] Giscard d'Estaing said that a country can only be governed from the center, which means that an extremist government is doomed from the outset. All those who want to govern aim for the center, find their places around the center, and try to prove that they are the "real center." If we want to indicate the conditions of the parties, we can define our relation to the center by saying that we can consider them from the social democratic through the liberal to the conservative, Christian democratic, and national democratic forces. Anything outside these tends to crystallize at the margins. All this represents the center's role in the political party structure.

However, it is necessary to talk about the center that exists in every party, the trunk of the parties that determines their main line. This trunk that is also the majority—and this is normal—does not emphasize the exhibitionist and extreme people who sometimes like to take on the role of a town crier. This is also the trunk of the parties that diligently do Parliament's everyday work while people with a different character usually spend the whole day making statements.

Within the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], too, the center has been represented by the party's main line since its establishment in Lakitelek; this might have changed to a certain extent but not in its basic principles. At the time, in 1988, we even debated whether the word socialism should be included in the founding document in any form—and it was not included. Mihaly Bihari would have insisted on this. The same way, we had heated debates at the roundtable discussions, which even included the opposition of that time, and we insisted that it should not be part of the constitution—and it was not included in it.

Therefore, the MDF has been this center party, from the moment of its establishment. It distanced itself from the right wing and the left, and even from social democracy by not allowing the word socialism in the founding document. Naturally, in 1987 and even in 1988, until the "party possibility" was decided, there were people with reform communist and reform socialist inclinations in the MDF. Even in September 1988, there was a rather multicolored group at the second Lakitelek meeting. There were people from the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] and those who later became part of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. Following this, with the transformation of the Network, the SZDSZ was born, preceded by the FIDESZ, therefore, a new situation emerged as a result of all these events: The MDF's center-party character became stronger.

The center does not only mean that the often mentioned three ideological traditions and trends—national liberal, Christian democratic, and popular-national—can fit into it, it also means that these three tendencies are integral parts of the center. Therefore, in fact, the national liberals are not the "left wing" of the MDF, and the popular-nationals are not the party's "right wing," or perhaps vice versa. This is out of the question. The center means the synthesis of these three tendencies.

The center cannot mean still water, and it especially cannot mean a slough that is full of duckweed into which one should throw a stone, or into which a larger body should fall in order to clear away the "political duckweed." Center politics is specifically not identical with mediocrity. Mediocrity is not a characteristic of democratic people, anyway. [Poet] Endre Ady said in his notes entitled "In Paris" and "In Sunshine Country" that socialism is here, it is among us, and mediocrity rules everywhere. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I will leave mediocrity to socialism.

[Balasko] In connection with this, let me ask you what the MDF's answer is to the left-wing scenarios, a clash or assistance? It is claimed that the Hungarian Way will work against left-wing restoration. What about the center?

[Antall] I differentiate between those who, deriving the circles and the movement from the Hungarian Way Foundation, are taking it toward a political party that is to be organized, and those who identify with the supposed noble goals of the foundation. They serve a noble goal, for example, by supporting the gifted people, and by working against communist restoration. Therefore, I do not think that people who run this organization and guide it toward other goals are equal to those who are part of this movement and who believed in it, especially at the beginning. I am not surprised, either, that many people, being active, need these meetings. Examining the

writings of Istvan Csurka and many of his epigones, one can clearly see that this is not simply a case of being right wing, which they also accept: One can discover at least as many left-wing political ideas in his utopian discourses.

In their economic goals, starting from privatization and continuing with the outlined system of supporting culture, in fact their whole economic, social, and political structure, and considering their whole view of constitutional law, it makes hardly any difference whether they belong to the left wing or right wing. One can find at least as many collectivist left-wing as right-wing elements in Csurka's ideological system. This, of course, is no accident because there are very many similarities between right and left-wing systems and they differ from the constitutional and democratic parliamentary system precisely in the fact that a center party does not contain the elements of extreme parties. In other words, extremes always resemble each other. Today in Hungary, all political movements that use right-wing slogans and require right-wing activities serve the interests of the left wing. People who are not aware of whose interests all this is in or that all this can only be in the interest of the left wing so that the center can be destroyed through some kind of "salami tactics," do a lot of harm to the cause of freedom that was so hard to acquire.

An opening toward the left margin is unpopular everywhere after 40 years of "left-wing dictatorship," therefore, the interests of the left wing can only be served through trying to wipe out the political center forces—which is also the constantly recurring desire of the left wing—by asserting and practicing a right-wing mentality. This desire exists without excluding actual "right-wing" sentiments. If we look at this tendency in international comparison, we can also discover that these phenomena serve those power interests that want to destabilize Europe and the world. They manage to organize right-wing demonstrations at the push of a button, whenever they want to, from Los Angeles to Rome or from London to Rostock. Every sane person has to see these things and whose interest they serve. The campaigns that are carving up the center serve the interests of precisely those forces that were behind the desecration of cemeteries and other actions in the past decades. Ample documents are provided on these in the archives of the Stasi, the secret service of the former GDR, and of the KGB.

Therefore, even in a strategic sense, it is we who oppose communist restoration, the political center forces that are not taken in by the demagogy of right-wing tendencies. People who today conduct this so-called right-wing politics help left-wing restoration whether they like it or not.

Finally, as regards my personal contribution to keeping the MDF in the center. In this respect, the most reassuring thing for me is the fact that I have led the MDF to the left in Csurka's view, and to the right in the view of Zoltan Biro, who is the cochairman of the National Democratic Alliance. In this case, I believe that I have kept myself and the MDF in the center.

[Balasko] One can also hear statements that the silent majority has left the MDF. Society has split into a political elite and they and the people follow separate roads. Is this true in your view?

[Antall] Sociologists and political scientists from both sides can analyze this. The political elite and the masses have always meant two categories that are separate in a certain sense but which are connected and can be entered on both sides. "Professional politicians" consider as natural everything that is connected to governing and legislative activities. At the same time, the majority of people, including the entrepreneurs, employees, and—unfortunately—the unemployed, are living their own lives. However, making this seem that they have separated from each other can be a demagogy even within the coalition parties, and it can also be said on the other side of Parliament and through the media. This phenomenon has a general pattern in every country, all this is said in Germany, Italy, and in other countries. These problems always exist to the extent that one could even word it in such a way that every social grouping or individual follows the course he feels like and has the possibility of following. It is important that people should have the freedom to do so.

As for the separation of the masses from their political party, I can only say that, in France, the socialist party of [French president] Mitterrand that received 25 million votes at certain elections, has some 150,000 permanent members. [Prime Minister] Gonzales in Spain started the actual political work with 25,000 party members. Therefore, between two elections, the domestic political parties are mainly parliamentary parties rather than mass parties. In a modern society, people do not live a party life, they withdraw into the background between elections. It is only at the coming of elections when the machinery that can build on the existing party organizations swings into motion. One cannot expect a "party life attitude" from a modern party, similar to the one that was forced onto people by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP]. Today in Hungary, as a result of the changes, certain phenomena have emerged that are hard for people to understand or tolerate. It is partly a European phenomenon that an anti-political atmosphere and incitement against parties, the government, and Parliament now have ample space. Considering the emotions that have understandably accumulated in people, politicians and journalists act most irresponsibly if, in addition to sharp criticism, they do not try to understand the difficulties. They have done the opposite and created a depressing and defeatist mood in the already desperate people.

[Balasko] The accusation that the popular sources have almost completely been removed from the energy network of the regime's change and that the left wing has the "switchboard" has also been raised. Another accusation, namely that the MDF has yielded to the so-called liberal

"realities" of people like Soros [U.S. businessman who sponsors cultural foundation in Hungary and in other countries].

[Antall] I do not think that it is the MDF that could be accused of being under the influence of the Soros foundation, and it especially cannot be accused of yielding to the "Soros-type" liberal trend. The case simply is that various political parties exist, each party determines its own profile, and the political contest is being run on this basis. However, it is not true that the coalition parties have discarded their national or popular roots. This kind of statement does not have any basis. The MDF's and the coalition's commitment to the nation cannot be doubted. Considering the 1,000 years of Hungarian statehood, including the political battles and bloody freedom fights, the battles have never been as successful as now—although this time it is bloodless. This took place in a particular period, during the operation of a government that achieved the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA, and ensured our place in the European security system. In our critical geographical system, it ensured the possibility of our current national independence. After all this, how can anyone claim that our national commitment is doubtful? It is quite impossible to give a sensible answer to such stupid accusations and groundless suspicions that claim that we have only exchanged our colonizers, meaning that the United States, the West, or international financial institutions now rule us instead of the Soviet Union. It is impossible to reply to lies.

[Balasko] Another accusation is that we have a post-communist six-party balance and not a real change of regime.

[Antall] It is well known that I have been generally against all kinds of "six-party" and "patriotic front" solutions and will be so in the future—this might also have been clear from the above. Based on the government and the opposition, our governmental system is bipolar. Looking at it on a party political basis, it might be heading in three directions.

[Balasko] According to the Hungarian Way circles, the so-called "media intelligentsia" is trying to deprive the Hungarian people of good taste. In connection with this, can you say—briefly—something about the electronic media and the problems in the institutions of radio and television that relate to the government?

[Antall] First of all, the appointment of the radio and television heads was not based on a six-party agreement. I would also add that for example Istvan Csurka enthusiastically supported the appointment of Csaba Gombar [as radio chairman]. He has also supported strange ideas in recent months. Very many people from the political circle that criticized the "pact" at the time agreed with the appointment of Elemer Hankiss [as television chairman] and even more with the appointment of Gombar. As long as it seemed possible to arrive at some normal solution between the opposition and the government coalition, the government did not make the steps that later had to be made in order to stop the two public service institutions from going in an irresponsible direction. In respect of constitutional law, this irresponsibility has gone far beyond the scope of the Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television—I mean the relations between the president of the republic, Parliament, and the government. The mass media and the politics of exhibitionism have taken this issue in a completely wrong direction and this is mainly shown by the failure of the media law through the fault of the opposition. On the basis of governmental responsibility, the government had no choice but, based on the available legal rules and budget responsibility, to take the necessary measures to operate these two public service institutions.

In spite of all the vain talk, the issue was the two institutions and their operation, rather than the freedom of the press. Even the opposition, including Hankiss and Gombar and their supporters, acknowledged that it is in Hungary where freedom in the media is most prevalent in Eastern-Central Europe.

As a matter of fact, contrary to the claims of the opposition, the issue of the freedom of the press is the opposite: An editors' and journalists' "terrorizing of colleagues" prevails against the journalists who have different views. This has to be said openly. It is not the government that is hindering the freedom of the press—this is a statement that exceeds anyone's sense of humor—but it is the cliques and groups who prevent journalists from writing as they please and who do not give work to those who dare to follow a different direction. It is undoubtedly true that former communist journalists and editors occupied a very strong position in the press. How this was possible can be answered by saying that, in the past decades, culture was a structure—from Jozsef Revai to Gyorgy Aczel [former ministers of culture]—that was closely connected to political power. Both ministers held the intelligentsia under their control, in addition to culture—partly also including the secret service. They held every means of breaking the intelligentsia, including the journalists. This is not changed by the fact that there was a certain room for maneuver and very many people honestly tried to expand this within the possibilities. Therefore, the press system was held in one hand and those who held it were able to use the appropriate legal means in agreements with foreign companies and used various measures in the emerging competition that initially made it impossible to establish a different kind of press. In an emerging parliamentary democracy, the new parties did not have any financial resources to establish their own newspapers.

In the transition period, using the legal and economic possibilities, those who held the press under their control created press monopolies, often with strong foreign capital input. On one hand, it is not easy to change all these manipulations in a legal sense, and on the other hand—in contrast to them [not specified whom]—they were able to prepare for the current period with a

conscious and continuous strategy. People who served the opposite of the freedom of the press are now making speeches on it.

[Balasko] Let us say goodbye to the Hungarian Way circles with Istvan Csurka's dynamic program: "Without our approval and our seal, on our side, namely on the side of the majority, no one should be able to be part of the future Parliament, the constitutional assembly that the next national assembly will necessarily have to be. The Hungarian Way should be the endorsing institution whose support all candidates and renewed candidates will have to gain as a matter of vital importance. We should be distinguished by being in constant motion. We are never satisfied with what we have achieved but we always strive for further conquests until the whole of Hungarian life is in our possession." What impact does this have on you? Can you see a way out of this?

[Antall] This political attitude of stamping and investigating clearly reflects a one-party view where their approval and permission are needed to nominate the parliamentary deputies or to do anything else. The only excuse can be that this is a bluff and they do not really mean it.

The next national assembly cannot be a "constitutional assembly" although this is indeed what we suggested in 1988. At that time, we thought that this was needed, that we would establish the basic laws through this, and that governing could be carried out with the help of decrees that can be implemented quickly.

The term "constitutional" means that we do not have a constitution—but we do have one, as a result of the peaceful transition, an amended constitution (1948-89), which is almost completely different from the original, and which became the basic law of the democratic constitutional state in accordance with the classical Hungarian historical constitution and the European constitutional regulations. What actually happened was different from what we, the MDF, had suggested in 1988. The representatives of the power—who, by the way, were assisted in protecting the interests of the party state by the more than 100,000-strong Soviet Army—did not accept our proposals.

It would have been possible to speed up Parliament's current agenda, which is forced to be slow. For example, in many cases, the law on legislation prescribes a law in places where a government decree would do. It is precisely the principle of the two-thirds majority that makes fast measures difficult, including the procedure rules and the law on legislation. Changing this would certainly not have meant governing by decree, "dictatorship," autocracy, or other accusations that are usually part of fairy-tale stories, rather, it would have facilitated a modern and accelerated public administration. However, this is not what happened because people did not want it this way. Instead, we did some of the work of a "constitutional assembly" at the roundtable discussions, together with the previous parliament. The committee on the press, radio, and television was one of the spheres that did not fulfill its tasks. The same gentlemen who excelled themselves in the media law and its failure were prominent in this as early as in the summer of 1989. Even then, it was this committee that operated least effectively and, from a legal point of view, the unresolved problem of the press and the media is a consequence of this.

After four years of Parliament, the notion of "constitutional assembly" is a legal impossibility and it is politically inconceivable, although this does not exclude the possibility of amending the Constitution or preparing a new one.

[Balasko] Let me ask one more question from Csurka's reports on location: "It is not difficult to find a link between the government reshuffle and the reshaping of the MDF. Both are characterized by the concentration of power by the center and Jozsef Antall within this. In the MDF, this was carried out by many months of internal pressure, the postponement of meetings and events, and through halting the institution of deputy chairmanship for two to three weeks. Finally, we had the national meeting, whose only tangible result was the fact that the MDF had not exploded. At the same time, unfortunately, it did not become stable, either, because something that does not explode at one particular moment can later fall to pieces quietly.... Today, the MDF tolerates without resistance the prevalence of the spirit of petty bureaucracy. It is not preparing to win the elections because, to do that, it would need self-confidence in the first place and bureaucrats have never been able to captivate people anywhere...."

[Antall] I do not wish to argue with literary phrases, I have never doubted Csurka's knowledge of literature and dramaturgy. Since 20 August 1992, Csurka has been throwing his bombshells one after the other, partly through his renowned pamphlet, his other statements, up to the unfoldment of the Hungarian Way, and through his continuous political campaigning that he and some of his followers use touring the country and the MDF organizations. All this can be seen very clearly in the parliamentary voting and their participation in or abstinence from committees. They campaigned against the government and the government coalition in various local organizations—so much for the "many months of internal pressure" in the MDF.

As for the MDF's national meeting, it was agreed that we could not risk holding a meeting right in the middle of the budget debate and this is why it was postponed to the beginning of 1993 with the agreement of a big majority in the presidium.

Sometimes we hear that we are centralizing and other times we hear that the center does not function well or it is not functioning at all. We will prepare for the elections; and as for the spirit of petty bureaucracy that characterized the tsar's bureaucrats, we are very far

removed from that—Csurka should try to find models for this somewhere else, but let it not be me who tells him where!

At any rate, Csurka's and his circle's role in the MDF is not constructive at all. In the serious international, economic, and domestic political situation, we are actually crossing over a gulf. If you like, we need to walk the tightrope while Istvan Csurka's steps on the circus arena are nothing but big bangs. Talking about rope-walking, I did not mention the umbrella because everyone has been holding umbrellas above us in recent months. For this reason, I have ousted the umbrella from my thoughts for a few days.

What is the connection between the national meeting and the government reshuffle? As in every parliamentary democracy, everything is connected to everything else, including these two important events. As a matter of fact, as I have already mentioned a few times, I decided to change the government as early as in 1992, but due to Csurka's action in August, it did not take place in early autumn 1992. I had to postpone this decision, just as the measures affecting the media issue. Csurka's actions were a burden for the government and the coalition to such an extent that certain changes in timing became unavoidable. It is not only Csurka who can be blamed for the domestic and foreign political propaganda war and its consequences; the irresponsibility and politically mistaken proportions of a considerable section of the opposition and others largely contributed to this and paralyzed Hungarian political life and, in fact, the whole country. I have made numerous statements on the government reshuffle, I gave my reasons, and I believe that it would be pointless to answer the question in this form.

[Balasko] Thank you for the interview.

Jeszenszky, Melescanu Comment on Bilateral Relations

AU2303152393 Budapest MTI in English 1933 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 21 Mar (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu expressed their governments' interest in developing bilateral ties and resolving debates in an interview on the Hungarian television Sunday night [21 March].

The interview was broadcast in a newsmagazine after the ministers' unofficial talks in Gyula, southeast Hungary, on Saturday. In Gyula, Jeszenszky and Melescanu attended the inauguration of a bust of Romanian writer Liviu Rebreanu.

In the interview, Melescanu said he was pleased he could tell Jeszenszky about the views outlined by Romanian President Iliescu in Romania's Hungarian-language daily MAGYAR SZO earlier.

"We have to achieve results in a number of concrete issues by all means. Romania has a vested interest in joining the European structure," Melescanu said.

"We expect you to fully support us in that endeavour. But for that, we need to sign a Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. I think we can come to an agreement on important issues if Hungary agrees to continuing the talks. Therefore, I handed Mr. Geza Jeszenszky an invitation valid also for any other Hungarian political leader for any time, to come and sit down with us to talk about debated issues."

Discussing minority issues at the Saturday talks, the ministers agreed national minorities may play a very important role in intensifying ties.

Speaking about the bilateral basic treaty on television, Jeszenszky said, "I found—and I hope my Romanian colleague and friend agrees with me - that the treaty has many aspects and the issue of borders, that has elicited such a great attention, is only one of them. During the talks, I confirmed there was no border problem."

At the same time, Jeszenszky said it was important the treaty should cover issues significant for the citizens, issues of practical cooperation. In his view, the treaty may serve the interests of all citizens in the two countries only if it lays down that problems have been solved or a legal framework for solving them has been created.

Discuss Economic Issues, Treaty

AU2303151993 Budapest MTI in English 1651 GMT 20 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, 20 (MTI)—A practical approach to bilateral relations characterized an unofficial meeting of the Hungarian and Romanian foreign ministers in Gyula, southeast Hungary, where they attended the inauguration of a monument to Romanian writer Liviu Rebreanu on Saturday [20 March].

Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary and Teodor Melescanu of Romania had been invited to the ceremony by the Federation of Romanians in Hungary.

Briefing the press on the two-hour talks, Hungarian Foreign Affairs spokesman Janos Herman said the sides had discussed the issue of border stations. He recalled Hungary's earlier proposal to open ten new border stations. Romania then saw the opening of two stations, those at Battonya and Mehkerek, as realistic.

At the present talks, the sides agreed practical steps must be taken to open the two stations.

The politicians also discussed economic ties. Herman said the talks may contribute to accelerating the preparation of agreements on investment protection and avoiding double taxation.

Meanwhile, economic experts of several Romanian counties discussed possibilities of border zone cooperation with business people from Hungary's Bekes County in Gyula on Saturday.

Touching upon the issue of consulates general, Melescanu said "it may be considered."

Handling minority issues properly may have a beneficial effect on bilateral relations, the ministers agreed.

In the Hungarian delegation, ethnic Romanians were represented by Federation of Romanians in Hungary Chairman Gheorghe Petrusan. No representative of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania, however, was present in the Romanian delegation.

To journalists' questions, spokesman Herman said the ministers had discussed questions of a Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty but in Hungary's view, the emphasis placed on the issue of borders had been unnecessary because Hungary regards international agreements valid.

According to Hungary's position, the bilateral basic treaty as a whole must come to the fore, particularly the parts promoting practical cooperation. Preparing the treaty is a task for experts instead of ministers, Herman said.

In the informal atmosphere of the meeting, Jeszenszky brought up the issue of the Carpathians-Euroregion. The sides suggested that historical documents should be exchanged with the help of archives. The ministers agreed the two countries' experts should examine which international agreements had become unnecessary by now.

After the talks, the ministers attended the inauguration of a bust of Romanian writer Liviu Rebreanu (1885-1944), who was once an officer of the Hungarian Army. Staying in Gyula in his youth, he wrote short stories in Hungarian. The bust was consecrated by Orthodox church dignitaries. A memorial plaque dedicated to Rebreanu was also unveiled on the wall of the building that used to serve as military barracks in the writer's time.

Melescanu Reviews Talks

LD2303162393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 93

[Text] The Romanian foreign minister has been speaking about the Gyula meeting with his Hungarian counterpart. Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest.

[Bogdan] The actual aim of the Romanian-Hungarian foreign ministerial meeting in Gyula was to prove that dialogue is not only possible but also useful, especially at a time when there are numerous difficulties to be resolved. Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu said this to the paper CRONICA ROMANA on his return from Gyula.

Answering the reporter's question on whether the Hungarian side seemed prepared to include in the basic treaty under preparation the clause declaring the inviolability of borders, the Bucharest foreign minister said: This kind of reaction did not occur. In connection with the importance and significance of the territorial clause, different evaluations were given.

He added: Of course, the minority issue could also be raised in a similar way. As it is well known, in this respect it is the Hungarian partner that wishes to have a detailed and precise formulation in the basic treaty.

Jeszenszky Holds Talks With Italy's Colombo

LD2303143293 Budapest MTI in English 1118 GMT 23 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—Foreign Ministers Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary and Emilio Colombo of Italy held talks on relations between the two countires in Budapest today.

Colombo is in Budapest for the Central European Initiative's foreign ministers meeting, also today.

Jeszenszky put to Colombo that Italy endorse the Malev-Alitalia contract, that the Trieste-Budapest motorway feasibility study be completed and that joint projects be launched as soon as possible.

The ministers agreed on a diplomatic calendar where the Italian prime minister and foreign minister would visit Budapest in the first half of the year and the Hungarian president would return President Cossiga's 1991 visit next autumn.

Colombo Comments on Talks

LD2403194493 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] The Central European Initiative [CEI] can become a link between the western and eastern halves of the continent, providing that the effectiveness of the organization can be improved. This was said by Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo following his return home from his meetings in Budapest. He said that the activity of the working committees has to be examined and it has to be brought into line with the financial resources. On behalf of the Italian party, it was also proposed that within the CEI, two separate funds have to be set up for the development of small and medium-size companies.

Free Trade Agreement With EFTA To Be Signed

LD2403144093 Budapest MTI in English 1041 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—Hungary and the six EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries will sign a free-trade agreement in Geneva next Monday, Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar said yesterday. Once the agreement is signed, 70 per cent of Hungary's exports will go to countries with which

Hungary has a free-trade agreement, Kadar told a conference in Budapest on Tuesday [29 March].

The agreement was initialled on January 30, but final approval was conditional on successful agricultural talks between Austria and Hungary. An agreement in principle was reached between Kadar and Austria's Minister of Economic Affairs Wolfgang Schuessel during their talks in Vienna in late February.

Under the free-trade agreement between EFTA and Hungary, quotas and duties on industrial goods will be phased out asymmetrically, as is the case under Hungary's association agreement with the EC. Last year, 15 per cent of Hungary's exports went to EFTA countries.

Minister Criticizes Exchange Rate Policy

LD2303181593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 23 Mar 93

[Text] According to the minister of international economic relations, the profitability of Hungarian exports has decreased due to an inappropriate exchange rate policy. Bela Kadar said at the general assembly of the Hungarian Foreign Trade Association that the present revalued exchange rate is favorable for those who import goods to Hungary, this is why cheap imports can squeeze out domestic products from the internal market. This has an unfavorable effect both on production and employment, the minister of international relations stressed.

Political, Economic Ties With EC Discussed

LD2503110893 Warsaw PAP in English 1043 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 25—President Lech Walesa on Thursday received European Community (EC) External Economic Affairs Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan to discuss political and economic issues connected with Poland's association with the EC. This senior EC official is on a two-day visit to Poland.

The president stressed the importance of the Western economic cooperation with Poland and the widening of access of its goods in EC markets.

Brittan reassured Walesa of the EC Commission's support for Poland's efforts to become a member of the EC and emphasized that the increasing of Polish exports to its member states will depend on the economic situation of these countries now hit by recession.

Early Ratification of Association Treaty Favored

LD2403194193 Warsaw PAP in English 1907 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 24—The European Commission firmly supports Poland's position that the Association Treaty should be ratified by the individual EC member states as soon as possible, Sir Leon Brittan declared upon his arrival in Warsaw Wednesday.

Brittan, the EC commissioner for external economic relations, came to Poland to discuss questions involved in the ratification.

Although not ratified yet, the Association Treaty has been enforced in its part relating to trade for almost a year now. The present visit by Sir Leon Brittan will provide another opportunity for talks on expanding mutual trade.

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski called Brittan "a partner who understands very well the problems of our part of Europe." After talks with the EC commissioner, the Polish foreign minister said they were very useful and would be continued Thursday.

Privatization Program To Be Resubmitted to Sejm

AU2403130893 Warsaw PAP in English 2112 GMT 22 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—The cabinet today resolved that the mass privatization programme will be amended and forwarded to the Sejm once again. The cabinet also adopted draft amendments to laws on the office of interior minister, police, State Protection Office (UOP) and border guards.

The amended version of the mass privatization programme, to be discussed at the nearest cabinet meeting, initially provides for a two-stage privatization process. The first is to cover some 200 enterprises which would be managed by five or eight national investment funds while in the second some 400 enterprises are to be transformed into companies managed by some 15 national investment funds. Deputy Privatization Minister Wojciech Goralczyk rather excluded the participation of children in the programme.

Goralczyk added that the final shape of the programme would depend on talks with experts and partners—perhaps with those who do not belong to the ruling coalition. He declined to specify which groupings he had in mind and what the government would do if a new version fails to be passed.

The cabinet resolved to approve amendments to laws on the office of the interior minister, police, UOP and border guards, linked to the programme "A Just and Safe State" approved by the Hanna Suchocka Government in September 1992, and aimed at increasing the operational efficiency of law enforcement bodies.

According to the amendments, the time during which the Prosecutor General's Office should give its consent to "Operation Sting" is limited to 48 hours, and state administration offices are no longer obliged to secretly collaborate with the UOP.

The government did not discuss a draft motion on a World Bank loan to assist the restructuring of Polish enterprises and banks, although the debate was scheduled for Monday.

Rokita Says Referendum on Reforms Possible

AU2403145493 Warsaw PAP in English 1818 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Krakow, March 21—Head of the Office of the Council of Ministers Jan Maria Rokita on Sunday told a regional congress of the Krakow-Nowy Sacz Democratic Union (UD) branch that he does not exclude the possibility of holding a referendum on the future of the reforms in Poland if their continuation proves to be "permanently impossible."

He added that the referendum could be held in case the parliament does not approve the laws on enterprise and special powers for the government. The Sejm's rejection of the privatization bill alone is not a sufficient cause for holding a referendum, Rokita stressed.

In his opinion, the idea of a referendum should be forwarded by the president, government and a group of pro-reform forces. He declined to present a possible composition of such a group saying only it should be open, even to parties which are in opposition but which are disposed to make enough changes in their programmes to support the reconstruction of the Polish state.

Suchocka Comments on Szwonder's Release

WS2503112193 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Report by correspondents J. Biernacki and W. Nomejko; from the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] I consider the release of Rajmond Szwonder a success for this government, said Premier Hanna Suchocka when she returned from Hanover.

[Begin Suchocka recording] Since July, that is, when this government was formed, we have been conducting talks with Germany on the release of Mr. Szwonder, and I am very satisfied that due to these efforts, Mr. Szwonder is coming back to our country today. This is really very important for me. I spoke about this with Chancellor Kohl yesterday. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Some journalists asked the prime minister: What else did you manage to arrange during the talks with Helmut Kohl?

[Begin Suchocka recording] This is a sacramental question, and I always answer that I do not travel only as a trader to arrange something. Sometimes I hold political talks that will yield results in the long run. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The prime minister said that she had not discussed the financial details of the German aid for Poland if it admitted the would-be asylum-seekers deported from Germany. Working teams are trying to solve the problem, stressed Hanna Suchocka. The intended appointment of the governments' plenipotentiaries for mutual contacts is an attempt to reestablish an institution that functioned already when Tadeusz Mazowiecki was prime minister. The plenipotentiaries will be making political preparations for the next meetings of the heads of the governments.

Welcome Demonstration Staged

WS2503111893 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Mar 93

[From the "Panorama" newscast]

[Text] Yesterday at 2125, the plane from Frankfurt landed in Warsaw. Aboard was Rajmond Szwonder, deputy director of the Lucznik plant in Radom, who had been in prison for a year. At the airport he was greeted by his wife, Anna, and his son. Also present were representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Agnieszka Gawerska, identified via screen caption] [video shows Szwonder and his wife in a hall at the airport] The greeting ceremony took place at the VIP room at Okecie Airport. On account of poor health, Rajmond Szwonder could not be interviewed in front of a television camera. His wife had arranged for an ambulance to take him from the airport to a hospital in Radom. Aboard the plane was also Szwonder's personal physician, who did not allow him to talk to journalists. Through his wife, Szwonder thanked all those who had believed he was innocent and contributed to his release. On behalf of the Lucznik plant, Szwonder was greeted by Director Bronislaw Kilian.

[Unidentified correspondent] Director, you were the only person from the Lucznik plant that saw Director Szwonder after his arrival. What is his condition, how is he feeling, what was your impression?

[Bronislaw Kilian, director of Lucznik, identified via screen caption] Well, I recognized him. He certainly is a little slimmer than a year ago. As I see, he is a little dejected, but, well, I think he is happy that he is back on Polish soil. He remembered the workers of Lucznik, he thanked them very much. He also thanked all those who had contributed to his return to Poland.

[Gawerska] Approximately 50 Lucznik employees arrived in Warsaw on a bus to welcome Director Szwonder. At the airport a small demonstration was staged. [video shows demonstrators carrying big posters with slogans written on them: "Director, Welcome" "Justice Has Won," and a slogan written in English: "Szwonder—a Victim of American Provocation"; the demonstrators are shown and heard shouting "Szwonder is innocent"].

[Gawerska] Unfortunately, the ambulance carrying Director Szwonder chose a different route than was expected by the demonstrators. [end recording]

SdRP Congress Elects New Leadership

AU2403145393 Warsaw PAP in English 1230 GMT 21 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Aleksander Kwasniewski was elected chairman of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) on Sunday morning [21 March] during the SdRP's second congress.

Leszek Miller, Izabella Sierakowska and Jozef Olesky became deputy chairmen. Jerzy Szmajdzinski was elected the party's secretary general.

Chairman Views Party Prospects

AU2403163693 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Mar 93 p 2

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland, by Igor Janke; place and date not given: "After Earlier Elections, The SdRP Might Join The Government?"]

[Excerpts] [Janke] What changes will the congress of the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [SdRP] make to the party's activity?

[Kwasniewski] The congress marks the end of a stage in which we proved to people that we exist and consolidated a permanent place for ourselves in the political system. Now we will proceed to convince society that the left wing possesses an alternative program and that it is not by any means seeking a return to the past. We respect what has already been achieved—democracy, political pluralism, and a free market, but we want to show that everything must take social needs into account. Everything is meant to serve the people and be performed in a methodical manner, and not in chaos as is currently the case. [passage omitted]

[Janke] The president conveyed his greetings to the congress, but no one from the government did so, despite your expectations to the contrary. Will this affect your relationships with the government?

[Kwasniewski] No. As a legal and by no means small party, we invited the president, the prime minister, and the speakers of the Sejm and Senate to the congress. I very much appreciate Lech Walesa'a gesture. He displayed a great amount of realism, especially because when the SdRP was formed, he said it would not last longer than three months. Therefore, he had reasons to shun us. But his letter shows considerable tact. As for the government, its conduct is unbecoming, all the more so because it includes a ministerial seat responsible for the political parties. Where can such a minister find out about parties if not at a party congress? But perhaps Minister Kaminski [incumbent minister for political parties] had other things to do.

[Janke] You speak of the need for early parliamentary elections. Among which political groups will you seek support for this idea?

[Kwasniewski] I think the entire Sejm is beginning to realize that new elections are inevitable. I think that the latest vote in the Sejm and the Christian-National Union's breach of the coalition rules will encourage both the liberals and the Democratic Union to consider early elections. It is impossible to pursue any clear-cut politics in such a hazy climate.

[Janke] Does that mean you are holding talks with the liberals and the Democratic Union on the subject of early elections?

[Kwasniewski] To put it in diplomatic terms, there is no doubt that this topic is being discussed.

[Janke] Do you believe that the SdRP will join the government after the next elections?

[Kwasniewski] I do not know, but I hope so. I think that would be a good solution for Poland. We have a good program and good people who could increase the strength and effectiveness of the government. But everything depends on the voters.

National Income Needed for Defense at 2 Percent

LD2403194793 Warsaw PAP in English 1933 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Gorzow Wielkopolski, March 24—Minister of Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz said that 2 per cent of the national income should be earmarked for the defence. "This is not much compared to other countries, but it would give us grounds for future planning," said the minister.

Onyszkiewicz, together with a group of deputies, members of the Sejm (Lower House) Defence Committee observed on Wednesday the military exercises "Orion 93" in Wedrzyn, Gorzow Wielkopolski Province, involving some 6,000 soldiers.

Meeting with top rank officers taking part in the manoeuvres, Minister Onyszkiewicz admitted that the armament of the Polish Army is not the best, especially in the Air Force, but, in his opinion, one should not fall into "excessive pessimism."

The "Orion 93" manoeuvres are scheduled to end on March 26.

Iliescu On Domestic, Foreign Policy Issues

AU2503092393 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 19 Mar 93 p 5

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu, by Aurel Perva; place and date not given: "President Ion Iliescu Considers the Censure Motion a Democratic Exercise, but Thinks the Opposition Is Not Interested in Assuming Power"]

[Text] [Perva] I remember that your last interview with TINERETUL LIBER was more than a year ago. We noted then a certain change in the West's attitude toward you and Romania in general. The year that has elapsed since that interview confirmed what seemed pretty hard to believe at the time. In Brussels, we noted that we are being treated differently by NATO and the Council of Europe. How do you see this evolution and what is your foreign agenda for this year?

[Iliescu] Let us first talk about this evolution. It is a natural and normal process. In the last instance, life imposes a realistic approach in politics, particularly since our internal evolution has forged a kind of reality that cannot be ignored in the relations among states.

Therefore, likes and dislikes may always exist, but relations will never be decided by the relative political sympathies toward the domestic forces in a given country. Second, we are fighting against a certain amount of ideological indoctrination, and we want to rid ourselves of such different mentalities and approach our realities and people in a more normal way. However, I repeat, the atmosphere is quite polluted by various reminiscences, regardless of the position from which they are aired. Well, I notice that this indoctrination is more generalized. In our foreign contacts, we can see it prevailing with others, too. Even in the Western countries, this ideological indoctrination has left its imprint on the thinking of many people, particularly in communications and the mass media. This is a reality we should take into consideration, because, in the last instance, life will impose a natural means of tackling these matters. The primitive ways in which these issues are occasionally tackled—since we have all lived in the same society, the same atmosphere, and the same relationships that have established themselves in our society—are doing us no good, to be sure; hence, proper certificates of behavior are given only by proxy to politicians or to various loud slogans. Everybody's behavior should be up to his judgment and ability to adapt and promote the key changes that our society must experience. I believe that this year will be important on both planes. First of all, on the domestic plane, where attention should concentrate on the basic problems of economic and social changes in the country. Of course, the political climate is in turn influenced by the situation in the economy, but even with our present fragile parliamentary balance, there exists a natural and normal political confrontation framework, which will take its own course.

[Perva] With the abolition of subsidies, we will have a kind of special 1 May, of particular significance.

[Iliescu] Yes, in this respect I believe that this year will, on the one hand, accumulate all the hardships of the past three years and, on the other hand, will also be a taking-off year, a year of stopping the decline and starting the recovery process. In this respect, consider the current disputes and partisan discussions in Parliament—conducted for this first time quite openly before society and public opinion—as displays of coherent positions about the meaning of economic reform and its components, macro- and micro-processes, and key elements. Therefore, from this viewpoint, there can be very heated disputes about such a big concept. This is only natural and normal, but for the first time the public is confronted with several reference arguments that are the outcome of a very serious thinking effort. Hence, on the one hand, we have these domestic problems, which obviously have their social impact and are sure sources of discontent and other claims that can influence the method of solving problems. This can also create waves in the political life, which can turn into obstacles to the resolute promotion of this economic reform program. In this respect, I believe that our foreign relations will consolidate, develop, and expand. As you can see, we have had a pretty active diplomatic activity of late; this activity has, what I would call, a very interesting schedule for this year, too.

[Perva] Do you have some concrete details about your future agenda? Does it include a meeting with your U.S. counterpart?

[Iliescu] I hope so. Our agenda for April includes two important visits: one to the Arab Emirates (a very important financial center interested in developing relations with us; just as we are interested in consolidating ties with this region) and my visit to the United States. The latter has to do with the opening of the Holocaust Museum, to which several heads of state are also invited. On this occasion, a White House reception is also envisaged, hence there will be a lavish schedule in this respect. We also have several invitations for Latin America and certain countries in Asia and Europe. Consequently, a pretty complex program is shaping up for the summer, fall, and the rest of the year, as well as visits to Romania by foreign heads of state, the first being Mr. Stanislav Shushkevich, president of Belarus, with whom we will sign a treaty. I will probably go to Kiev in May, to sign a treaty with Ukraine.

[Perva] At what stage is the treaty with Russia?

[Iliescu] It may drag on for a while because of the current situation in Russia, until things become stabilized....

[Perva] Mr. President, let us come back to the governmental program and the criticism leveled at it from the left and the right. I would like to know your opinion on the pace of reform, as it is reflected in the program; likewise, what do you think about the opportuneness of the censure motion and of its chances of success?

[Iliescu] First, about the program. All this talk about it is a bit too sophisticated. According to constitutional provisions, when the government was voted in Parliament, it also presented its program, as is usual with any government. A program worked out in only 10 days is undoubtedly rather concise. This was the case with the inauguration of Mr. [Petre] Roman's and [Theodor] Stolojan's cabinets. In this respect, there was nothing new with the presentation of the Vacaroiu cabinet's government program. The program presented by Vacaroiu last November is not weaker or inferior to the programs presented by Roman in 1990 and Stolojan in 1991. Therefore, seen from this angle, the whole talk seems pointless. Regarding the presentation in Parliament—aside from the budget—of a strategy of economic reform and a report on the first 100 days of governmental activity, this is the first time that such a study has been submitted to the Parliament and the Romanian public. This study defines all the components of the program of economic reform and transition to the market economy and also contains concrete elements—therefore, the claims that the Vacaroiu government's program has no resources, concrete deadlines, and so forth are inexact and incorrect. It is not true. Somebody who has not seen the material at first hand may say that, but anyone who has studied the entire material cannot miss the seriousness with which the matter was tackled and the effort made to substantiate the basic structures and components of the reform program. On the other hand, it contains concrete blueprints for the legislative activity and for the laws that should be promoted for all chapters of this action program and it also stipulates various organizational, institutional, and other measures. I would say that we have a program of great scope and magnitude. As is usual with all such material, it can be improved. In this respect, beyond the political nuances of contesting, negating, and questioning the validity, correctness, consistency, and other aspects of this program—something that obviously has to do with politics and party struggles—the Parliament debates also revealed very many pertinent opinions regarding possible corrections and amendments to this program. This is welcome. This action must be continued with specialists who have a say in the matter and who can focus attention, so to say, on certain parts of the program and fix the order of priorities since this program covers a difficult period, when our resources are limited.

When one talks about the shortage of resources, demagogic references are occasionally made to the difficulties of this period, especially this year, since it is obvious that nobody can find resources for higher salaries and a better relationship between revenues and expenditures, in order to stop inflation, halt and reduce unemployment, and create jobs overnight. I also notice such malevolent critical references to statements I have made during the electoral campaign concerning new jobs. However, I did not say that we are going do achieve that in three months, but rather during the four-year span of the current mandate. I am convinced that in the next four years we can create the equivalent of a million jobs and I also named the spheres where possibilities can be identified for implementing this broad process of privatization, developing a broad network of small and medium-sized units in the productive artisan sector in the villages and all our localities, which can utilize local resources and services for the people, and setting up a network of boarding houses for mass tourism. We have developed tourism only on the basis of hotel networks. In all European countries with tradition in this sphere, networks of small units—micro-hotels and family boarding houses—have developed first. Therefore, this can be achieved without much effort, state investments, and centralized investments, despite several shortcomings with regard to basis infrastructure, transport network, other conditions, energy, water, and so forth. Even so, in the current circumstances, it is possible to develop a dense network of such boarding houses in villages in the mountain and hilly areas that can create the equivalent of 1 million jobs in the next two years. Therefore, one should only be able to tackle these problems concretely.

[Perva] Do you believe that the motion to be discussed in Parliament next Friday [19 March] has any chance of making the government falter?

[Iliescu] I could not immediately understand the reasoning for this action. From subsequent explanations, it became obvious that the opposition is availing itself of a democratic practice and constitutional stipulation. The opposition's task is to oppose. Therefore, from this viewpoint, it is a democratic exercise through which the opposition is making known its opposition to the governmental program.

I do not believe the opposition really wants to assume power right now. It is pretty tough right now, times are hard, and I do not believe that all those who signed the motion are able to assume the responsibility of governing right now. Therefore, I do not believe that this is the meaning of the censure motion, but rather to mark, as one could ascertain from the explanations given afterward, the opposition's distancing from the government program. This is only natural. As a matter of fact, those who signed the motion and are demonstrating their opposition did not vote for this government. Therefore, their opposition is not something new. Their opposition to the Vacaroiu government was also expressed last November, when the Vacaroiu government was voted in. Therefore, these people showed their opposition three months ago, are doing so now, and will do so again in a few months, whenever it is to their interest. This is the political game.

[Perva] You took the pulse of the parties, since you had a round of discussions with them. Are there any indications that the opposition, or a part of the opposition, is ready to cooperate with a consensus, unity cabinet? For instance, I have noticed certain nuances to this extent being aired by people from the Civic Alliance Party [PAC].

[Iliescu] Of course, various nuances could be discerned during those dialogues, and the PAC delegation has indeed seemed to display the broadest opening. The issue was not the setting up of a national unity government now, but later. Everybody agreed that right now the government should be allowed to continue its activity, since a frequent change of government can never be something good. It always interrupts activities. Each time a new government was set up, everybody could see that some time would pass until the new ministers took over their prerogatives, formed their teams, and brought themselves up to date with current developments. Therefore, any change—a change in government is a fools' joy, as the saying goes—these too frequent changes only lead to disturbances of the current activity.

The people are already upset that insufficient action is being taken to solve problems. Such frequent breaks only make more difficult the legislative process and the current activity of the executive branch. Therefore, the country does not need such a thing right now. On the contrary, this government, which has just started its activity, drafted the new budget, and worked out this program that gives perspective to the promotion of economic reform, well, this government has elaborated a whole legislative program that must just go through the appropriate procedures in Parliament. It should be allowed to continue doing its job. Therefore, one should not now raise the issue of changing the government.

[Perva] Do you believe that the occasion of 1 May will come and go without too many convulsions?

[Iliescu] Everybody is asking this question, because it refers to such a sensitive issue. We are talking here about cutting subsidies to basic consumer goods. However, without this measure the whole program of economic reform will lack coherence in its economic activity. The maintenance of state-subsidized sectors and products creates discrepancies in the entire economic process, even for the manufacturers of these products that are no longer interested in economic performance, since they are state subsidized. On the other hand, it is also a source of corruption, because our Romanian individual can always find a roundabout way of avoiding the direct path for selling these products, thus also disrupting the public supply effort, let alone our past and present practice, whereby bread, for example—where we also have difficulties due to the persistent disruptions in agriculture—is still used as fodder for the livestock. It is cheaper to buy subsidized bread than actual fodder.

Therefore, one can eliminate such distortions only by achieving a unitary framework for the unfolding of our economic life and of the production-sale-market relationship. Therefore, the subsidy cuts represent an objective necessity. Of course, the people are naturally worried. However, as could be seen, the government has envisaged full compensations for these subsidy cuts in its draft budget.

[Perva] You were talking about corruption a few moments ago. I had prepared a special question on this subject. Corruption is one of our great problems. Billions are made overnight. We see what is happening in Italy, but the separation of powers in the state functions better there and it is obvious that the Magistrate's Office is doing its duty. Do you think that our state of law, as it is now, in its current stage of development, has the necessary force and capacity to stop on time this very dangerous scourge for our future society?

[Iliescu] Corruption is a danger not only for the future society, but also to the present one. It is a source of justified discontent, concern, and worry, because it distorts overall relations in society and diminishes the people's feeling of confidence and the stability of our society. Of course, corruption seems to be an objective result of these transition processes and of the disruptions occurring in all spheres of our social life. To this, one should add the problems facing our economy and the lack of coherence and force of the state and its instruments as well as of the various state institutions, which should intervene quite vigorously.

In this respect, we must sadly note that neither the investigative, supervisory, or enquiry bodies have the necessary vigor and ability to find the root causes of these phenomena and eliminate their most dangerous manifestations. Instead, they limit themselves to the obvious and lesser issues. What is more dangerous is the massive penetration of these phenomena of corruption in the very state apparatus, even in the apparatus of the bodies empowered by law to exert control and intervene in order to curb such manifestations. This is the root of the evil and I believe that the Parliament should urgently pass several draft bills, including the public servant's statutes, which should establish much stricter rules and also stipulate more active steps, so to speak.

Of course, one should take action in both directions: First, to create economic mechanisms capable of eliminating the source of the main phenomena of corruption that occur at this time of confusion in the economic mechanism; second, to strengthen the action capability of the state bodies. I believe this is an absolute prerequisite, on top of which I should stipulate—something that has already begun to be implemented here and there—that primarily the state dignitaries, parliamentarians, and the members of government and central state institutions should no longer be permitted to belong to the management boards of enterprises, that is to have parallel positions, something which is bound to distract them from their tasks, on the one hand, and to distort their mode of tackling problems in the state institutions to which they belong, on the other hand. For instance, it is inadmissible that parliamentarians, for example, should belong to the management boards of banks, economic units, trade companies, and so forth. The same applies to people from the governmental institutions. What the Hunedoara prefect did should be extended throughout the country, at central and local level: He who is a civil servant, such as a director at a state-owned

enterprise, has the status of a civil servant. Consequently, he may not work for a private enterprise. He should make a clear-cut choice: Either he is a businessman—then, he should see to his affairs and leave the institution where he draws a salary from the state and society; or he remains as director or high official in the respective enterprise and performs his duties to the state institution that employs him, forgetting about private business dealings, both for him and his family. This pretty widespread malady should be nipped in the bud. Both the government and the Parliament should have a decisive say in this matter.

[Perva] Mr. President, our country has recently been visited by the rapporteurs of the Council of Europe, who made several remarks in connection with the structures of the Prosecutor's Office, the demilitarization of the Ministry of Interior, and the issue of minorities. How do you envisage the solution of these problems?

[Iliescu] Of course, it is a practice of the Council of Europe to make such analyses of the evolution of domestic political legislation and practice in each state, as a precondition for acceptance to the Council of Europe. I maintain that Romania has done more than its share of going through this purgatory in recent times and, compared to the skepticism expressed vis-a-vis our country in the past few years, there is now a much more relaxed climate and a more correct and objective way of tackling and understanding our realities. This was seen in the way in which the two rapporteurs—there should actually have been three, but due to the bad weather conditions, the third rapporteur, from Greece, could not arrive; he had always been favorable to us and has taken an open position of broader understanding, I would say, for the situation in Romania.

It seems to me that this time, Mr. [Friedrich] Koenig, who has always had the greatest reservations and has been somewhat influenced by the anti-Romanian lobby, had a more open attitude and showed greater understanding for our realities. I believe that this visit as well as the discussions he had with various political figures enabled him to acquire a more complete picture. My feeling is that, generally speaking, the rapporteurs left with pretty complete and positive impressions. They said that they will actively support our admittance to the Council of Europe as full members. I believe that the few critical remarks they made do not constitute a special problem. The fact that the current prosecutor general is a high-ranking officer, a general, has nothing to do with his capacity as career officer. It has been the practice of the Romanian justice, not only from now, but also from before the war, to have specialized military bodies—both prosecutor offices and courts. There are some very specific problems that have to do with internal arrangements and rules that are known to the relevant bodies that investigate and try cases such as desertion and infringement of rules. This presupposes intimate knowledge of the prevailing situation.

It is a tradition of our country to have such bodies specializing in military institutions, the institution of our armed forces. Thus, the prosecutor's office has always had a special compartment for the armed forces and we have always had military courts. This is not something we inherited from the old structures either, because even in 1989 and prior to 1989 the prosecutor general used to be a civilian. I cannot remember any military person ever heading the military prosecutor's office.

The prosecutor general, who was appointed next, in January 1990, [Gheorghe] Robu, was also a civilian. Cherecheanu was not appointed in his capacity as a military person, but rather in that of a prosecutor, considering especially the fact that in the days of his appointment the prosecutor's office was concentrating on the investigation of the [1989] December events, an issue he had dealt with at the Bucharest prosecutor's office, so I suppose this also contributed to his appointment. I see nothing special in the fact that a civilian has been replaced by a military. We do not consider that a problem at all, and I think we managed to make the rapporteurs understand that there is absolutely no tendency to militarize that institution as such and that this is no significant thing. Actually I am certain that the direct talks they had at the prosecutor's office cleared up the whole issue in the best way. Concerning the Ministry of Interior, I think that the rapporteurs realized themselves that—at least for the time being—that institution has to be headed by a professional, that is, by a policeman.

[Perva] I would like to ask you to comment on [former minister of interior] Victor Babiuc's speech in Parliament.

[Iliescu] Babiuc likes to cause unnecessary excitement.

[Perva] Concerning the issue of including the units of the Ministry of Interior among our defense forces, which would contradict international agreements signed by Romania....

[Iliescu] That is also inexact, because it is happening all over the world. I mean, border guards are not supposed to merely watch our borders, they are also the first line of defense along our frontiers. In the whole world, regardless of whom they are subordinated to, in case of war they become a part of the respective country's defense structures. Similarly, in case of war, those forces, the gendarmes, and even the police are attributed special roles that complement those of the defense forces of the country. Therefore, that interpretation of Babiuc's is an aberrant one and it does not correspond to reality or practice in any state in the world.

[Perva] Mr. President, while talking about your foreign agenda, you did not mention anything about your possible contacts with your Hungarian counterpart. What stage has been reached in the negotiation of the [bilateral friendship] treaty and what are the chances of your initiative with respect to a summit meeting?

[Iliescu] I am sorry to see that a somewhat tense situation prevails, despite the fact that we have permanently tried to be receptive and open and I personally suggested a number of times that we should meet without any preconditions. Naturally, we would be delighted if the text of the treaty could be finalized, and actually the latest talks among foreign ministry experts signalled that such a thing might be possible. The main thing is that both sides should really want to overcome the current situation. Actually I do not understand why Hungarian politicians, in their public statements, quite clearly say that there are no territorial claims and the borders should stay where they are, and yet they are reluctant to include the same things in the treaty. Why should that disturb them? This is the core of the problem and its constant avoidance leads to delays in the signing of the treaty, which would also be a good occasion for a summit meeting during which we could eliminate all reticence and initiate more open relations. Unfortunately, we are sorry to see that the atmosphere is still unfavorable, perhaps owing to the current pre-electoral climate in Hungary, because such things do influence the behavior of politicians everywhere. However, I continue to believe that we will eventually overcome these moments, because—looking at it from an objective point of view—we are neighboring countries, even if during our history we have had tensioned moments and conflicts and thus territorial claims are still deeply rooted in the thinking of certain people. But as I said, we are neighboring countries, our common interests should prevail and guide our political thinking, regardless of the political convictions of the parties ruling either of our countries. I think that it is our common interest to overcome this phase of reticence, caution, and mistrust and begin building a climate of trust and mutual understanding. That would certainly help both our countries.

[Perva] One quite optimistic person said that our countries should actually step hand in hand into Europe and European structures, which means that we will first have to settle all our problems, because Europe does not need two brawlers in this part of the continent. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Deputies Ratify EC Association Agreement

AU2503154493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1334 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/3/1993—Thursday March 25, the Chamber of Deputies discussed over and ratified the agreement of Romania's association to the European Communities [EC] previously signed in Brussels on February 1, 1993, and the agreement between Romania and European Free Trade Association (EFTA) including the bilateral agricultural arrangements signed in Geneva on December 10, 1992.

Melescanu On Bilateral Relations With Hungary

AU2303191793 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 18 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Laszlo Szekely; place and date not given: "Progress Is a Mutual Interest—Exclusive Interview With Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu"]

[Text] As we already announced, our information from confidential diplomatic sources turned out to be correct: The Hungarian and Romanian foreign ministers will meet in Gyula on 20 March. Both sides pointed out that the meeting would not have an official character. However, both the Romanian and Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesmen said that the two foreign ministers would make use of the opportunity to review the most urgent problems of bilateral relations; obviously, the issue of the basic treaty will occupy a central place among the issues to be discussed.

Our newspaper constantly informed the readers about the negotiations on the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty, negotiations that often stirred great waves in Romania. What is the opinion of the Romanian foreign minister himself, the most competent person to discuss this issue?

The following interview with State Secretary and Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu took place prior to the announcement of the upcoming meeting in Gyula.

[Szekely] When I prepared a lengthy interview with you in December 1992, you said that through this interview, you were sending a message to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. I think that the events that have taken place in the area of bilateral relations clearly show that your message made it to Budapest.

[Melescanu] We indeed noticed the feedback. A series of things happened that cannot be explained by mere coincidence. Your newspaper has proven that it is serving the cause of rapprochement between the peoples of the two countries with specific actions, rather than just words. I think that your newspapers had a positive effect on the events and, therefore, you deserve praise for this.

[Szekely] Thank you for the praise. It has become a tradition in our foreign political reports to ask the opinion of both sides in connection with some important moments of our bilateral relations and leave the readers to draw the conclusions. This is how we acted when the two countries' Foreign Ministry experts reviewed the whole of Hungarian-Romanian relations, and mainly the two unsolved problems of the basic treaty, at the end of January. Some time has passed since then and one can have a better view of the results of those talks. What is your opinion of the results of the experts' exchange of views?

[Melescanu] If I wanted to avoid the possible traps deriving from an open and direct answer to this question, diplomatically I would say that the very fact that the experts of the two Foreign Ministries sat down and held an exchange of views in a cordial and open atmosphere is already an achievement. In addition to this, however, one could see that both sides sincerely desired progress because this is a mutual interest. As a foreign minister, this was the major signal for me.

I do not want to analyze in detail everything that has contributed to this obvious desire, from the role of journalists who affect the public mood to the fact that, compared to previous times, the Romanian diplomats were better prepared for the talks.

I would also risk to declare that it seems that both sides better realized that both countries were situated in an explosive geographical region. Guaranteeing the stability of this region, something that both Romania and Hungary could greatly contribute to with mutual efforts, is an important task, and everything else seems to be less important by comparison. However, by this, I do not want to underestimate the unsolved problems of the Romanian-Hungarian relations, or belittle their importance.

I already said that the Romanian side prepared for the talks more thoroughly and attentively. The fact that, prior to this, we held talks with the leadership of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] also contributed to this.

[Szekely] What is the importance of the consultations with the UDMR leaders?

[Melescanu] We understood the UDMR position better, namely the position of the representatives of a considerable percentage of Romania's population regarding Romanian-Hungarian relations and the basic treaty. We think that the UDMR could play an important role in improving and expanding our bilateral relations. Along with other political forces, the UDMR could also play a considerable role in other areas too, like Romania joining the European structures and in obtaining the most-favored-nation status. Hopefully, we will be able to preserve the ongoing dialogue. I am happy to see outstanding figures among the UDMR leaders like Gyorgy Frunda, who is one of the most prestigious lawyers in the country and whom I myself highly appreciate.

[Szekely] In your opinion, how can we eliminate the differences of views on the issue of the basic treaty?

[Melescanu] I would not call them differences of views, but rather a different approach to certain issues. At most, there are very slight differences of tone. There is one way to bring the positions closer—namely to continue negotiations, and both sides agreed on this in principle.

In conclusion, I would like to stress our readiness to find solutions acceptable for both sides.

Ministry Rejects Term 'Moldovan Language'

AU2403132793 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Mar 93 p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Falsification of History—The Romanian Origin of Moldovans Is Questioned"]

[Text] In connection with the draft of the constitution of the Republic of Moldova, the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry notes the following: "It is incomprehensible that, among the issues that have remained unsolved and are to be discussed in public debate together with the draft of the constitution are a few basic issues regarding the origin of the nation and of the language, of cultural tradition and national history. Thus, although the draft constitution stipulates that Romanian is the official language of the Republic of Moldova, voices of certain circles and forces connected with the old imperial policy can be heard again through certain amendments that seek to introduce the aberrant terms "Moldovan language" and "Moldovan nation" for the Romanians who live beyond the Prut River. The real moral authors of the introduction of such so-called socialist and communist concepts are well known. The concepts have essentially a precise goal: the ominous falsification of history, the obtrusive crushing without mercy of traditions in order to continue the forced separation of the Romanians on the two banks of the Prut River. (...) The time for such aberrations, which meant nothing except the denationalization of our brothers, is gone forever. It is clear that no concessions can be made on such an issue."

Mircea Druc on Political, Unification Issues

AU2403133193 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 20 Mar 93 pp 1, 3

[First part of interview with former prime minister of Moldova and former Romanian presidential candidate, Mircea Druc, by Stefan Nicolae; place and date not given: "True Political Struggle Is Not a Struggle Between Men, But Between Ideas"]

[Excerpts] [Nicolae] You are—so to speak—in a unique position in our country because you have participated in "top" politics both on the other side and this side of the Prut river. Seen from this angle, what can you tell us about the way in which you assess the anniversary of Bessarabia's unification with Romania and the organization on 26 March of the first congress of the National Reunification Party?

[Druc] I do not know whether my position is unique; in any case, on 27 March we want to mark something that is vital and important for us, just as is 1 December [Transylvania's unification with Romania]. Through these anniversaries or commemorations we want to demonstrate to ourselves and to those who follow us, in a positive or negative sense, that we will not give up our ideal. Maybe it is significant that it is precisely Bessarabia, the most contested part of the Romanian entity, that was the first to unite, followed by Bukovina and then by

Transylvania. Thus, I view this celebration as something personal and no matter what some people in Bucharest or Chisinau may say, we will continue along our road. Some people may have contingency plans in mind, but we are going to disregard them and prepare for this anniversary the way we should.

As for the party that has been created—the National Reunification Party—it will actually hold its founding congress on 26 March. It is the only party which I could join and I will do so. I wanted to comment on the idea: Why is this party necessary? This idea of reunification cannot be monopolized, because, in fact, all the existing parties have declared that they favor reunification. Some of the parties even have this idea displayed on their frontispiece. For me the reunification is not only a territorial one, but also a cultural one. Without this one cannot achieve European integration.

[Nicolae] Are there any signs on this and the other side of the Prut river that people will join this party?

[Druc] It would have been useless setting up this party if it were not going to become a party of all Romanians. Thus, the unionist movement will be consolidated. There are several parties that call themselves "democratic," but this does not mean that one of them has a monopoly on democracy; this is what we also say, namely that, although there may be parties whose name includes the idea of national reunification, there can still be a particular one so entitled: the National Reunification Party. On the other hand, I think that certain parties are doing nothing but revitalizing former models. Those parties' task was to modernize Romania between the two wars: The break came through the brutal intervention of communist totalitarianism and after 1989 some people wanted to resume where the others had left off. But this is both impossible and useless.

This is why I believe that the National Reunification Party will have a solid and distinct ideological basis, otherwise its existence would not be justified. I also think that true political struggle is not a struggle among men, but a struggle of ideas. Nevertheless, both in Bucharest and Chisinau one has the impression that this struggle is taking place first and foremost among people. Man is valuable in politics only as long as he serves the ideas that inspire him. It is ridiculous and inefficient to launch yourself into politics without any program of your own, but just for the sake of interests and ambitions. It is not important to say that you are dealing in politics; it is important to create something, a doctrine that is worth being promoted. [passage omitted]

This is why I would like to contribute to the creation of the National Reunification Party and to the formulation of its program, statutes, and, most important, its code of conduct. [passage omitted]

[Nicolae] What can you tell us in connection with a new concept that is being discussed, namely "democratura" [democracy and dictatorship]; what characterizes the former socialist countries that are attempting to build democracy, but are unable to break away from totalitarian ideas?

[Druc] I am risking saying something outrageous here, but I do not know what dictatorship or democracy means. There certainly are disadvantages in dictatorship just as there are in democracy. We know what dictatorship meant, but, tell me, are Cosa Nostra and the Mafia not products of democracy?

Interview Continued

AU2403203793 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 22 Mar 93 p 3

[Second and last part of the interview with Mircea Druc, former prime minister of the Republic of Moldova, by Stefan Nicolae; place and date not given: "True Political Struggle Is Not a Struggle Between Men, But Between Ideas"]

[Excerpts] [Nicolae] You know what Churchill said, namely that democracy is a terrible form of government, but the best one that has existed....

[Druc] Yes, but we have to deal with problems, not in the light of what happened in the past, but in light of what will happen tomorrow.... And here again I have to mention that the National Reunification Party should play a unifying role. When we move on to the next century, we cannot take everything with us, but only what is of value. In my opinion, both comintern and "demintern" are dangerous. You understand what I mean.... No one permits you to benefit from your freedom and adaptability. And then there is the problem of the individual and of xenophobia. What xenophobia? How can you accuse a crocodile of xenophobia after you have jumped into the water in which it lives? How can you accuse the Germans of xenophobia when you run them over?

However, returning to the National Reunification Party, it could become a modern formula for the future political comeback of the Romanians. [passage omitted] This party should be a symbiosis of the models that have existed before and should come up with a viable alternative.

[Nicolae] Returning to concrete things, do you believe that Mr. Lucinschi's election as head of parliament in Chisinau will defer the reunification process or, at best, just mark time?

[Druc] It will just mark time, because reunification does not depend on him.

[Nicolae] But given his position, he is able to hamper or speed up certain processes.

[Druc] You see, things are very complicated. It is like it is in medicine when a drug is administered and a different reaction is achieved from what was expected. For if Mr. Lucinschi puts up resistance, then the

response will be stronger. There have certainly been those, both in Bucharest and Chisinau, who have delayed or halted this process. Bucharest, for instance, swiftly went to Moscow to conclude the treaty with Gorbachev to beat the others to it. This proved to be lack of foresight. The same thing happened with Ukraine. What kind of treaty will we sign with Ukraine? Just to affirm that we harbor feelings of friendship and good neighborliness? Japan, for instance, never said such a thing and this was no obstacle in maintaining trade relations with Moscow.

[Nicolae] There is this fetish in Romanian diplomacy to be on friendly terms with everyone. But such a thing is not possible. If you try to be on friendly terms with everyone, you risk being friends with no one.

[Druc] You know what village people say: One does not have to be on friendly terms with all your neighbors, only with those one house removed from your own. Because at any time your next-door neighbor may throw a dead cat over the fence, while the other one will take a neutral position or be on your side.

[Nicolae] What is your opinion on the military accord recently signed between Chisinau and Kiev?

[Druc] There is this trend in Chisinau to play the Ukrainian card as a counterweight to Moscow. The only thing is that Ukraine thinks—and has thought for a long time now—that its border lies on the Prut river, if not on the Siret. I would say that Russia should mean for Romania what Austria and Vienna meant for Transylvania. In this context, Ukraine would take the place of Hungary. Because Ukraine is interested and involved in Bessarabia. I can cite examples from history.

[Nicolae] What is the relationship between the idea of reunification and the economy? There is the German precedent and there is the case of Korea. And there is this mentality at various levels that, through unification, the other's economic burden would be taken over as well.

[Druc] This fear is catching. However, we want a different kind of reunification. In Germany, the economic difference between East and West was very great. We do not have this psychological threshold because the difference between the development level of the Vaslui and Balti counties is insignificant. [passage omitted]

Therefore I believe that we should think and act as if the country were reunited. And in diplomacy we have to pass from static to dynamic thinking.

[Nicolae] There is another essential thing. Those surrounding us think that Romania should not unite because it would become too big for its geopolitical context....

[Druc] As in sport, we should start by thinking that we will win. If you listen to what this or that person says, nothing will be achieved. What we have lost, we have lost because of narrow party interests. However, we have to have a firm position on the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and other decisive events.

Ships Detained by Mauritania Threaten To Flee

AU2403203593 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 22 Mar 93 p 1

[Eugenia Cristea signed article: "The Romanian Government Used Trawlers for Secret Transportation"]

[Text] We have received the following message from the seven Romanian trawlers that have been detained by the Mauritanian authorities since 18 November 1992: "We have done our duty by transporting the cargo in good condition to four international ports, having assumed huge responsibility for the goods we had to transport to two of those ports—in view of the special nature of those goods—and the Romanian Government is well aware of the nature of those goods." The message, signed by George Pelineagra, captain of the Polar 10, continues: "We completed our transportation activity on 18 November 1992. The last harbor we anchored in was Lagos (Nigeria). Since that day, we have been isolated in the free fishing zone of Mauritania."

Beginning that date, the vessels and their 508 sailors have been held hostage, without any fuel, food, soap, detergent, or money. The cause of their detention is Romania's refusal to pay Mauritania its $2 million debt.

According to the latest information, if the Romanian authorities do not intervene to have them freed by 26 March, the seven vessels intend to sail away—even if they are fired upon—toward the nearest European port.

Ships' Seizure Denied

AU2503065093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1538 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1993—Spokeswoman of the Romanian Foreign Ministry Simona Miculescu made the following points on the situation of the seven Romanian ships stranded in Mauritanian waters:

The Mauritanian authorities have taken no restrictive or coercive measures against the ships, which have full freedom to move, or against their crews. The ships have been inactive since January 31, 1993, when their fishing licenses expired.

Their being maintained in the area is exclusively due to the decision to that effect by the Romanian Central Administration for Ocean Fishing (CRPO, Tulcea), in view of their prospective resuming activity following conclusion of new contracts with the Mauritanian side.

Despite the fact that CRPO has unpaid [as received] financial obligations to the local agent who represents its interests, the latter has agreed to continue—even after

the licenses expired on January 31, 1993—supplying the ships and crews with the basic necessities.

The Romanian embassy to Nouakchott is instructed to further grant, if necessary, full juridical assistance and maintain permanent contact with the ships' captains and crews.

Tanase Views Opposition Censure Motion

AU2403134093 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 18 Mar 93 p 3

[First part of interview with Deputy Stelian Tanase, vice president of the Civic Alliance Party, by Ioan Rosca; place and date not given: "The Opposition Has To Assume Power"]

[Excerpts] [Rosca] Please would you comment on the statements regarding the Civic Alliance Party's [PAC] attitude to the opposition's censure motion?

[Tanase] The view held by politicians did not surprise us. As for the most interesting, but negative, press reaction were they the writers' own opinions or the result of indoctrination? I personally believe they were the result of indoctrination. PAC is an opposition party and I think it has adopted the most realistic position at this time. Political realism means achieving viable results. The response we receive is quite favorable and make me sure we have adopted a realistic opinion. Being part of a coalition, PAC has not had an opportunity to stand on its own feet. This is the first time since August 1991—I am referring to the Moscow putsch—we hold a distinct position compared with other political formations. [passage omitted] In my opinion, at this point the opposition has to pursue two objectives: To get institutionalized as the opposition and to prepare to take over all aspects of executive power—programs, teams, and so forth.

[Rosca] And yet, the role of the opposition is to oppose....

[Tanase] I do not think the opposition should confine its activity to just contesting things. Through the actions it takes, the purpose of the opposition is to change the life of the people and of society.

[Rosca] Thus, may the time chosen for submitting the censure motion be described as a waste of political energy?

[Tanase] I would not say so. Both those who signed it and those who supported it, without having signed it, had justified political arguments. One cannot say that the truth is 100 percent on the side of those who initiated it, the National Salvation Front, Roman, or on the side of PAC or the Social Democratic Party of Romania, which did not sign, but supported it. [passage omitted]

[Rosca] In a recent statement, Corneliu Coposu, stresses that the time chosen for the censure motion was also a polite gesture toward the executive power, in the sense that after the month of May, when social dissatisfaction is predicted, such an initiative would have been ill-suited, especially since the PNTCD pleads for the elimination of subsidies. What is your opinion?

[Tanase] The question of political ethics is very complicated. I think the first and most suitable moment to launch the battle is the discussion of the 1993 budget. The program has to pass. We know that the budget contradicts the program. [passage omitted] You want to know what the situation of the executive will be in May-June, after subsidies have been lifted? Coposu does not usually send out kind remarks to the government; for me this was a new thing. As for the censure motion, I believe such procedures have to be used when the government is weak and for the public the opposition constitutes an alternative. [passage omitted]

However, it would have been better for us to launch this motion in September, after minute tactical preparations, after contacts and negotiations, and after drafting an alternative government program, because the results would have been different. I want to tell you that this opinion is shared by many party colleagues; not all of them, and that is positive, because we have seen the baleful effects of unanimity.

Interview Continued

AU2403134293 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 19 Mar 93 p 3

[Second and last part of interview with Deputy Stelian Tanase, vice president of the Civic Alliance Party, by Ioan Rosca; place and date not given: "The Opposition Has To Assume Power"]

[Excerpts] [Rosca] Mr. Stelian Tanase, what is your opinion on the opposition taking over government in the current situation when parliamentary leanings and the force they may display the moment their interests are at stake, are known?

[Tanase] What I have noted in Central and East European countries is a polarization of political activity that blocks the reform process. What action should we take to unblock the parliament, so it can carry out an intensive parliamentary program of reform, and what should we do to overcome this stagnation? It is obvious that nothing is happening in Romania in the economic and parliamentary areas. Everything is blocked. My solution is simple—we have to depolarize parliamentary activity and political activity in general; this can be done through negotiations and, through coalitions on the basis of actual programs. This depolarization can be done through the efforts of lucid political leaders and parties that believe they are able to cooperate to unblock this political and economic situation in Romania. [passage omitted] People are prepared to endure difficulties if there are prospects. Thus, the problem of the political class in Romania at this time is to unblock the transition process. [passage omitted] The time of dramatic and ardent speeches is over. The time has come to do something and not blame each other. The current issue

the politicians should be discussing is how to change the situation in Romania. This should be the concern of the Romanian political class. [passage omitted]

[Rosca] Suppose you had an opportunity to participate in the government, together with those who won the elections, would you be interested?

[Tanase] This is a very sensitive question. It depends on what coalition you are talking about. A reformist government can be set up only with reformist forces. But let us return to the obsessive censure motion. It was a delayed reaction to negotiations for the formation of the government last fall. [passage omitted]

[Rosca] Shall we return to a former affirmation of our paper, namely that we lack politicians?

[Tanase] Politicians are people who change things. [passage omitted] What can be noted today is that they lack realism and pragmatism. I do not believe the parties have clearly and definitely defined what they want. [passage omitted] Reality changes and thus one has to come up with quick solutions. And this is difficult, because facts change more swiftly than we understand them. [passage omitted]

[Rosca] And yet, what if the motion succeeds?

[Tanase] I asked many of its initiators the same question and they had no answer.

Quintus Discusses PNL's Future Prospects

AU2503105093 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 15 Mar 93

[Interview with Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, president of the National Liberal Party, by Adrian Dumitrascu; place and date not given: "Mr. Ciuceanu's Accusations Are Groundless and Lack Proof"]

[Text] [Dumitrascu] There are many people—paradoxically excluding certain liberals—who believe that we need a big and strong liberal party.

[Ionescu-Quintus] You are right. People realize that the Parliament currently lacks a center, it does not have a force that could balance the two tendencies toward the extremes, which are constantly swaying. What we were doing in the old Parliament, namely succeeding in balancing a great majority with a very reduced number of minority, is no longer possible, because there is no longer a force that could fulfill this very necessary role in parliamentary life. I believe that our greatest fault is that we deprived the country of the contribution of a liberal party that is balanced and reasonable, namely a truly center-right orientation party. Regrets come too late and certainly until the next elections there is nothing for us to do other than to consolidate and finalize this merging, which still requires organizational measures throughout the country, starting with the small organizations—in communes, towns, and municipalities—and up to the center, where we have to establish the new bodies stipulated in the statute. However, all our concern and all our work is now directed toward the regional organizations, where we have to finalize the merging process and enable these new leading bodies to function. In this way, we should instill dynamism to the party and give it the necessary energy that it requires to hold talks both with its adversaries and its friends. When we conclude all this operation that might last one or two months, we will think seriously about what we have to do regarding the unification of liberal forces or the attempts to bring them close to each other.

[Dumitrascu] There is much talk about rejoining the Convention [Democratic Convention of Romania].

[Ionescu-Quintus] It is too early to talk about this possibility now. There is still a party in the Convention—they call themselves liberals, but I have my doubts about that—but two liberal parties make no sense. First of all, we will have to talk with our partners in the other party, to see what our possibilities are, maybe to set up a liberal union—because it might be more difficult to merge in the upcoming period—while maintaining our individuality and acting jointly in case of important issues and try to discover what binds us and not what separate us. I believe that we have more interests that bind us than separate us.

[Dumitrascu] There are many who believe that barriers are mainly of a personal nature.

[Ionescu-Quintus] Almost exclusively. However, personal problems are the most difficult ones. It is easier to correct certain ideas, certain principles, one can adopt an ideology by reviewing a program, but personal differences are very difficult to solve because pride is nowhere sharper than in the sphere of political life, and more difficult to settle; as long as vanity separates us, it is very difficult to get closer to each other.

[Dumitrascu] As far as the nucleus of the future unification is concerned, what can you tell us?

[Ionescu-Quintus] I would like to stress again that I can conceive of the unification only around the body of the National Liberal Party [PNL]. That is where they separated from and that is where those who really and sincerely wish for our party to regain its role and its place in this troubled political life should return.

[Dumitrascu] After Brasov [place of National Liberal Party congress] have you noticed that the spirits have calmed down?

[Ionescu-Quintus] I have to tell you that after Brasov there were two somewhat different directions. One direction, representing certain discontent, which really and definitely was made up of a minor part of the members. There are very few dissatisfied organizations that maybe wished for another leadership. The great majority of our organizations are very pleased. The reaction of our sympathizers was extraordinary. There were numerous registrations in the PNL already on the second day after the congress, and this we consider a very important thing. It means that many people stayed aside, displeased with the mistakes that had been made. However it seems that now this dissatisfaction has disappeared from among people who are supporters of the party and I am sure that no matter how many values and how many personalities a party has, ultimately what matters is the great mass of the electorate, because they are the ones who send us or do not send us to the parliament. We must learn from the 27 September lesson.

[Dumitrascu] Is is true that Mr. Ciuceanu accuses you?

[Ionescu-Quintus] Mr. Ciuceanu's accusations are unfounded and lack proof. I am surprised that the blackmail to which he submitted me in Brasov in order to prevent me from accepting the candidacy still continues. Certainly, my patience also has its limits.

Shells Hit Srebrenica as UN Helicopters Depart

AU2403134393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center report from Srebrenica]

[Text] After the initial shelling before the helicopters arrived, the chetniks continued their attack on the air bridge for the evacuation of the wounded from Srebrenica. Just after the first group of helicopters took off with some 30 wounded, five mortar shells landed close to the landing site, wounding two people, one being a UNPROFOR [UN Protective Force] soldier.

The UN officers believe that the chetniks are listening in on their radio traffic and attacking at the time of takeoff. The future of the operation is in doubt.

UN Suspends Mission

AU2403185993 Paris AFP in English 1803 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 24 (AFP)—United Nations helicopters evacuated 21 seriously wounded Moslems from the besieged enclave of Srebrenica on Wednesday [24 March] before Serb shelling forced them to suspend their mercy mission.

Two Canadian U.N. soldiers and several civilians waiting to be evacuated to the Moslem-held neighboring town of Tuzla were wounded by Serb fire at the Srebrenica soccer stadium which had been converted into a landing strip for the airlift operation.

The Canadian soldiers, one of whom was seriously injured, were airlifted by two British Sea King helicopters to Tuzla where they were hospitalised.

The pilot of a French Puma helicopter flying within the defined limits of the rescue operation said he narrowly escaped mortar fire.

Bosnian radio also reported that heavy shelling and infantry attacks in the Srebrenica region had killed at least three people and wounded eight others.

The fighting highlighted the difficulty still facing efforts to relieve the suffering in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serb leaders had demanded from U.N. officials that Serbs in Tuzla be allowed to leave the Moslem-held town in exchange for their allowing the evacuation of the wounded from Srebrenica.

Forty six Serbs left Tuzla Wednesday afternoon aboard a United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees bus that headed to the Serb controlled region of Bosnia.

French General Philippe Morillon, the commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina, arrived in Tuzla Wednesday afternoon to negotiate with local authorities the departure of 450 additional Serbs who have said they want to leave the town.

The French general has expressed impatience with local authorities saying they are failing to cooperate in the evacuation operation. Bosnian Serbs have claimed that Tuzla authorities are holding hostage about 18,000 Serbs.

Morillon failed in a bid earlier in the day to lead a stranded 18-truck convoy into Srebrenica. The convoy, carrying desperately needed food and medecine for an estimated 60,000 starving Srebrenica residents, was forced to return to the Serbian border town of Mali Zvornik at 1 P.M. (1200 GMT.)

The three French helicopters that evacuated the wounded from Srebrenica had also been held up for a few tense hours by Serb militia in the Bosnian border town of Zvornik.

They were searched for two and a half hours, as called for under an agreement reached Tuesday, before being allowed to proceed to Srebrenica. A fourth helicopter carrying foreign journalists was not permitted to leave Zvornik because it was said to be carrying too many people.

Those evacuated Wednesday from Srebrenica were carried on stretchers and many of them had leg wounds. All, except five children, were men. They were received in Tuzla by Red Cross workers who hospitalised the most seriously wounded.

Three British and three French helicopters had been poised to evacuate more of the wounded from Srebrenica Wednesday before their operation was suspended.

Meanwhile, the U.N. Security Council was expected Wednesday to conclude a twice-delayed vote on enforcing a no-fly zone over Bosnia while peace talks stumbled on with little progress.

The vote authorising military action to enforce the no-fly zone draft resolution approved last October was delayed twice since Monday at Russia's request.

Two UN Soldiers Wounded

AU2403131193 Paris AFP in English 1253 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 24 (AFP)—Two Canadian U.N. soldiers were wounded by Serb fire Wednesday at the Srebrenica football stadium which had been converted into a landing strip for the helicopter evacuation of the Moslem enclave's wounded, a U.N. spokesman said here. The incident occurred shortly after three French U.N. helicopters were able to evacuate 21 of the town's seriously wounded to the neighboring Moslem-held town of Tuzla, said spokesman Michel Marvie. About 15 Canadian soldiers are part of a regiment that went to Srebrenica with French General Philippe Morillon, the U.N. commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina who negotiated with the Serbs for the evacuation of the town's wounded and the passage of aide convoys. Radio Sarajevo announced that three people had died and eight were wounded Wednesday during heavy shelling near Srebrenica.

Wounded Civilians Evacuated

LD2403131193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—French Puma helicopters landed in Srebrenica at about 1130 and evacuated 21 wounded, TANJUG was told in the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] headquarters in Belgrade.

The "blue helmets" said that the helicopters with Srebrenica civilians aboard are expected in Tuzla at about 1210.

Four French helicopters left Tuzla for Srebrenica shortly before 0900 this morning. As agreed, they landed in Zvornik, where representatives of the army of Bosnian Serbs inspected the helicopters, UNPROFOR says.

Only three helicopters flew off for Srebrenica after the inspection. The fourth returned to Tuzla with UNPROFOR soldiers who were to secure the landing site in Srebenica and signalmen on board. They were refused permission by the Bosnian Serbs to proceed to Sreberenica, UNPROFOR said.

UNPROFOR added that the journalists aboard the UN helicopters were also barred from going to Srebrenica.

Serbs: UNPROFOR Faked Shooting

LD2403183593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 24 Mar 93

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian republic army general staff issued a statement tonight saying that Serbian units did not open fire on UN helicopters evacuating the sick and wounded from Srebrenica to Tuzla. The statement notes that a helicopter hovering over Caus Hill opened fire on Serbian republic army soldiers to provoke the Serbian soldiers. Fire was not returned.

The following is the statement issued by the Serbian republic army general staff:

"Based on the agreement reached by Dr. Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, and UN representatives and in line with the relevant order issued by Dr. Karadzic, a Tuzla-Zvornik-Srebrenica air corridor for evacuating the wounded and civilians from Srebrenica to Tuzla was opened on 24 March 1993. Significant problems with implementing this agreement arose at the very beginning. We highlight the following ones:

"—The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Command, in its capacity as flight organizer, did not observe the agreed timetable. Two flights from Tuzla to Srebrenica via Zvornik were scheduled for 0830 and 1000, but helicopters took off much later for reasons unknown to us;

—Bypassing the agreement and without the knowledge of the Serbian republic, 30 UNPROFOR soldiers were found in the first group of helicopters—four altogether—at the checkpoint in Zvornik. The soldiers wanted to be transported to Srebrenica at any cost. The command of the Serbian republic army checkpoint sent 24 soldiers back to Tuzla aboard one helicopter, while the remaining three helicopters, each escorted by two soldiers, continued the flight to Srebrenica;

—Two journalists without passports or official journalist papers issued by us were found in the helicopters carrying a cassette with aerial shots of Serbian republic army positions from Banja Luka to Zvornik. The cassette was confiscated;

—Several mobile radio stations and other means of communication which the UNPROFOR wanted to take over to Srebrenica were found in the helicopters;

—During the flight, one UNPROFOR helicopter opened fire on Serbian republic soldiers above Caus Hill to provoke them. Fire was not returned;

—Muslim forces fired on Serbian republic units' combat lines nonstop and throughout the operation;

—We have confirmed reports that the UNPROFOR were dropping explosives in the radius of 200 meters around the helicopters at Srebrenica heliport, thus staging artillery fire and accusing the Serbian republic army of shelling the heliport;

—After 1400—outside the agreed timetable—two helicopters failed to land at the Zvornik checkpoint and continued the flight to Srebrenica after which a cargo consisting of four trunks was dropped above the Crni Guber Hill. We must draw attention to the fact that this hill is situated outside the agreed corridor.

Based on the aforementioned facts, the Serbian republic army general staff stresses that the objective of UNPROFOR is not to take the wounded out of Srebrenica but to infiltrate UNPROFOR forces there and deploy them in the region of Srebrenica between the Muslim forces and units of the Serbian republic army, to prevent further liberation of devastated Serbian villages and finding the remaining mass graves of massacred Serb population. In addition, their objective is to save at any cost Muslim criminals who perpetrated genocide over the Serbian population in the wider region of Podrinje.

We also wish to point out the fact that UNPROFOR has intentionally procrastinated on implementing the agreed operation, which was planned to last for five days, because they wish to reinforce and protect the Muslim forces around Srebrenica, provoke an attack on UNPROFOR, and put the blame on the Serbs before the world public. Obviously, this has seriously brought into question the entire operation, and it is difficult to foresee its further course.

The Serbian republic army general staff expresses its dissatisfaction with the behavior and the biased attitude

of the UNPROFOR Command, which has obviously sided with the Muslims," the statement by the Serbian republic army general staff says in conclusion.

'Defenders' Launch Counterattack

AU2503114793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Some news we have just received through BH PRESS: This morning's artillery and infantry attack on Srebrenica has been repelled. The enemy suffered great losses after the defenders launched a counterattack and moved the defense lines some four kilometers toward Bajina Basta. This was stated by the Srebrenica War Presidency. The village of Jadar has again been liberated in this counterattack.

Citizens Appeal to Morillon

AU2503110693

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 25 March carries in its regular newscast, which lasts 22 minutes, several reports on the continuing fighting in the republic.

The studio announcer quotes the Srebrenica War Presidency as saying that "chetniks entered the village of Jezero, near Srebrenica, from the direction of Skelani. Yesterday evening, chetnik forces entered the village of Jadar [name as heard], some 10 kilometers south of Srebrenica, on the Srebrenica-Skelani-Bajina Basta road. It is still unknown what is happening in Srebrenica itself, as the War Presidency of this commune reports. This is all according to BH PRESS. General Morillon, who promised the Srebrenica people that he would not desert them, has been in Tuzla since yesterday, and he is expected to leave for Belgrade today for talks with President Milosevic, who, according to Morillon, is the only one able to stop the Serbian offensive in eastern Bosnia. The Srebrenica War Presidency is sending out a dramatic appeal to General Morillon to return to Srebrenica as soon as possible to prevent the chetniks from taking the town and slaughtering its people."

A largely indistinct report from Srebrenica itself says that "early yesterday morning the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was pushed back several kilometers, but the new defense line of Srebrenica is now stabilized. The rest of the morning was relatively quiet. [Words indistinct] had been evacuated several hours earlier and the civilians were taken to a safer place. At 1600 in the afternoon, a battle started in which the soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army destroyed two enemy armored vehicles. During the night, new defense lines were formed and the chetniks are now some 10 kilometers south of the town."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "the situation is very dramatic on this front. This is the 11th month that the aggressor has been trying to capture this town and the chetniks are still fighting as if it were the first. The entire defense line came under attack overnight. Not one enemy artillery battery was quiet. Two tanks and a recoilless gun from Krecane pounded Novalici, Rajska, and Vida throughout the night. Artillery from (Borovo Polje) and Modrica shelled Pozarike and (Sibovac). The same situation was reported from the eastern defense sector, where the enemy were firing from Turic at Mionica and Liporasce."

An unidentified correspondent from Zavidovici gives an account of yesterday's fighting, saying that "it was dramatic in Rujnica after 2100 last night, as the maniacs from the hills used howitzers and 120-mm mortars to pound the area. However, the night and this morning have been relatively quiet."

Reporting from Tesanj, Ramiz Brkic says that "there were some sporadic enemy armed provocations during the night, but otherwise it was relatively quiet. Most of the front and the city itself are also quiet this morning." He then gives a detailed account of yesterday's fighting.

The Brcko Press Center reports via a poor line that "last night at 2025, one enemy aircraft full of fighters and deadly weapons landed in the chetnik stronghold of Grbavica." The report says that during the night "the chetniks fired incendiary ammunition from antiaircraft guns at Bajici and Lucici, and set several buildings on fire."

In his report from Konjic, Edhem Badzak says that "the situation has returned to normal. There is no army in the streets, but only a few policemen. That is the result of last night's order by Suad Alic, commander of the Seventh Brigade, acting on orders from Arif Pasalic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's Fourth Corps, and Milivoj Petkovic, commander of the headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council. Alic also ordered the complete lift of the blockade of Konjic." Badzak says that "according to this morning's information from the valley of the Neretvica River, where there was some quiet heavy fighting yesterday, the situation has been normalized and the order on the cease-fire and the ban on the movement of troops are being observed."

Jovo Jovanovic reports from Sarajevo that "the first hours of the morning are unusually quiet throughout the city. Not only is there no shelling, but even the aggressor's small arms can be heard only occasionally."

Mazowiecki Comments on Srebrenica 'Ethnic Cleansing'

LD2503105893 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0600 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy of the UN Human Rights Commission to the former Yugoslavia warned Europe not to be indifferent toward brutal abuse of human rights in eastern Bosnia. The former Polish prime minister said that the problem of the starving Muslim community of Srebrenica is another example of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia. When asked if he would be in favor of the use of force against aircraft violating a no-fly

zone over Bosnia, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that it would be better than passive observation of what is happening there.

Yesterday the UN Security Council postponed for the third time a decision on adopting a resolution on this matter.

UN Envoy Presses Milosevic for Cease-Fire

AU2503130293 Paris AFP in English 1245 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs blocked General Philippe Morillon, commander of the U.N. forces in Bosnia- Hercegovina, from traveling to Belgrade Thursday [25 March] where he was going to negotiate a cease-fire, a U.N. relief official here said.

However, Jose-Maria Mendiluce, special envoy for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), met with Serbian Presient Slobodan Milosevic for over an hour Thursday.

Mendiluce said he asked Milosevic to press Bosnian Serbs to intervene to "stop the shelling of Srebrenica" and to obtain freedom of movement for the UNHCR.

A helicopter mercy mission was cancelled Wednesday after Serb gunners shelled the airstrips at the besieged Moslem enclave of Srebrenica and Moslem-controlled Tuzla, both in eastern Bosnia. About 200 wounded are waiting to be airlifted out of Srebrencia, whose 60,000 to 80,000 inhabitants have been weakened by almost a year of fighting and hunger.

A humanitarian aid convoy and a French field hospital have also been blocked from entering the beleaguered enclave for several days now.

"To be honest, I'm not still very optimistic," Mendiluce said after leaving his one-hour meeting with Milosevic.

Serbs stopped Morillon at Memici, the line dividing Serb and Moslem positions about 30 kilometers (20 miles) south of Tuzla, military observers said. Morillon never made it to Mali Zvornik, the first town across the border in Serbia.

Morillon was to have traveled to Belgrade via the Croatian capital Zagreb.

On Wednesday, Morillon said that "Milosevic is the only one who can push for a cease-fire," as he spoke at a press conference in Tuzla after being prevented from returning to Srebrenica by the Serbs.

He accused the Serbs of betraying him over an agreement that they would not try to recapture Srebrenica.

"If the Serbs refuse a cease-fire, which is my only demand, it will be up to the world to respond. If we do not get it, it will be up to the Security Council to make some decisions," he said.

Morillon said the helicopter mercy mission was planned to continue Thursday but had said he would not give it the go-ahead unless he had an agreement from the Serbs.

In Sarajevo, Major Jose Gallegos, spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), criticized the Serbs for blocking the helicopter mercy mission by shelling the landing strips at Srebrenica and Tuzla.

It was "a deliberate sabotage of our humanitarian airlift," Gallegos said.

He also criticized the Serbs for delaying deliberately the departure of the helicopters at the Serb checkpoint of Zvornik Wednesday by taking more than two hours to search for weapons. In an agreement reached earlier, the Serbs had consented to only search the helicopters for five minutes.

Morillon To Meet Milosevic in Belgrade

LD2403222393 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 2100 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Excerpt] General Morillon has decided to go to Belgrade tomorrow [25 March] to obtain a cease-fire from Serbian President Milosevic. [passage omitted]

Local Serbs Prevent Morillon From Traveling to Belgrade

AU2503114593 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 25 (AFP)—General Philippe Morillon, commander of the U.N. forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, was held up by Bosnian Serbs Thursday [25 March] near Tuzla, in eastern Bosnia, and unable to travel to Belgrade, as planned, a U.N. relief official here said.

A Western source here earlier said the French general had arrived in the Serbian capital and was at the presidency for a meeting with Serbian Presient Slobodan Milosevic, where he was expected to demand a cease-fire for the besieged Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica after a U.N. air mercy mission was suspended Wednsday because of Serbian artillery fire.

But Jose-Maria Mendiluce, special envoy for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) here, told AFP that Morillon was blocked near Tuzla, a Moslem-controlled town.

Ministry Spokesman Meets Press on No-Fly Zone

AU2403161193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Predrag Smoljan on a news conference by Miroslav Jancic, Bosnian Foreign Ministry spokesman, with unidentified correspondents in Sarajevo on 24 March; Jancic comments recorded]

[Text] [Jancic] First, I would like to wish a happy Bairam to all believers on behalf of myself and the Bosnian Foreign Ministry.

[Smoljan] In expectation of more important news from the New York peace talks, Miroslav Jancic addressed Bosnia-Herzegovina's current position in the world:

[Jancic] We would like the delay in adopting the resolution on enforcing the no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was proposed by the Russian representative in the Security Council, to remain within the framework of international efforts to reach an overall peace solution as soon as possible, without signing the Vance-Owen plan, and the introduction of international control on Bosnia-Herzegovina borders [word indistinct], a strictly controlled flight ban through the use of force could be only [word indistinct], which would bring the war no closer to an end. The sky has been closed over Bosnia-Herzegovina for a year now anyway, but the agony on the ground continues.

[Smoljan] Miroslav Jancic then said that the Bosnian Government had submitted to the International Court of Justice in The Hague a request to investigate Serbian violations of the Geneva Convention—that is, by the so-called FRY—including crimes of genocide:

[Jancic] Based on the facts collected by independent investigators, we expect the International Court of Justice will urgently investigate the legality—that is, the absurdity—of the Security Council decision on the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina for defensive purposes.

[Smoljan] As for the disruption to humanitarian flights to Sarajevo, Mr. (?Anthony Land), representative of the UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] , approached the Foreign Ministry with a request that the government and the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces guarantee that the Bosnian side will not fire on UN aircraft:

[Jancic] This guarantee was given immediately, since the Armed Forces have never had or have now any reason to disrupt the delivery of humanitarian aid to Sarajevo. The reasons for attacks on the planes with humanitarian aid should be sought from the aggressor's side, and he should be the one asked for guarantees.

[Smoljan] Since the current developments in Moscow indirectly concern the development of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Miroslav Jancic briefly commented on the situation in Russia:

[Jancic] We express regret over the coincidence of the events as it threatens to overshadow the interest in the Bosnia-Herzegovina drama that is now being shown by international diplomacy and the public. We are also afraid that forces interested in placing the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in the context of new bloc divisions, and wider religious polarization might take over in the Russian Federation.

Serbs Say Muslims Storing Food, Weapons in East

LD2403163093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Army of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], revealed today that enormous stockpiles of food, arms, and ammunition have been found in liberated villages in the river Drina valley in eastern Bosnia, which shows that the story about alleged starvation of Muslims has been fabricated in order to deceive the world public.

Substantial quantities of flour, sugar, oil, wheat, humanitarian aid packages, and cattle were found in shelters and positions which were held by the Muslim army, a statement distributed to TANJUG says.

The statement says that large quantities of arms and ammunition found in eastern Bosnia came mainly from Germany and Arab countries.

This confirms that the Muslim call for the lifting of the arms embargo is superfluous, because arms are finding their way to Bosnia, which in turn means that Muslim claims about their alleged inferiority regarding arms are pure deceptions, the statement stresses.

These deceptions of the world public are aimed at covering up evidence of crimes "committed by jihad warriors of Alija Izetbegovic because graves, frequently mass-graves of massacred Serbs, are being found in every newly liberated village."

"Mutilated bodies testify to monstrous crimes committed by Islamic fundamentalists," the statement concludes.

Croat-Muslim Clashes Continue; Three Croats 'Executed'

LD2403151793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Text] The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units in the Konjic area yesterday observed the truce agreed on with Muslim forces, and they have released all prisoners.

It has been learned in the HVO defense department that Muslim forces have taken advantage of this to regroup and bring fresh reinforcements in from Zenica, Vojnici, Pazaric, Jablanica, Gornji Vakuf, and Prozor. Croat villages are being encircled. Three HVO members captured yesterday were executed last night. Muslim forces are using civilians as human shields in their attacks on Croat villages. One woman has been wounded.

According to the latest information from Konjic, battles are still being waged in villages in the Konjic municipality. A general alert was sounded in Mostar at 0755 this morning. Two shells were fired on the town, but fortunately there were no casualties. There is a relative

lull on the southeast Hercegovina battlefield, and one HVO soldier was slightly wounded by a stray bullet.

Following yesterday's attacks on positions held by Livno defenders, chetniks continued to bring in fresh reinforcements in the Rujan area last night. A large number of trucks have been spotted. All this was accompanied by constant small-arms provocations. The situation is increasingly tense also due to the movement of chetnik units on the Kupres heights.

Croat-Muslim Clashes Continue Around Jablanica, Konjic

LD2403202793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1956 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—Clashes between Croats and Moslems which began on Tuesday [23 March] in the area between the Herzegovina towns of Jablanica and Konjic are continuing, Croatian radio reported on Wednesday evening.

As learned unofficially, there have been casualties on both sides.

The sources said that European Community observers have arrived on the spot to try to reconcile the warring sides.

An abortive agreement on ending hostilities between Moslems and Croats in the area was signed on Tuesday by the commander of the Bosnian Croat Armed Forces and the commander of the Fourth Corps of the Bosnian Army loyal to Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic.

Croats and Moslems, who are jointly fighting against the Bosnian Serbs, have been engaged in clashes in the central part of Bosnia-Herzegovina over the past few months.

The clashes have also spread to areas in Herzegovina with mixed Croat-Moslem population.

'Atmosphere of Trust' Reportedly Returning to Konjic

AU2403194593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] The clashes between the units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Konjic commune, which were a result of recent misunderstandings, are not only damaging for the Muslim and Croatian people, but the armed struggle waged against the common enemy. Measures that were undertaken by the General Staff of the HVO in Mostar and the General Staff of the Supreme Command of Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces to reduce the tensions in central Bosnia have produced good results. The situation is calming down and an atmosphere of trust is being created.

Muslims Target Visegrad Hydroelectric Plant

AU2403170593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Drago Todorovic]

[Text] There are no coincidences when it comes to the Muslims in the upper Drina region: A fierce attack by Alija's followers [reference ot President Izetbegovic] against Serbian Visegrad started exactly at midnight, when the Muslim holiday Bairam started. Specifically, the Islamists' attacks are being synchronized on the right bank of the Drina River, along the Ustipraca-Brodar and Kaostice-Medjedja-Crijep lines. The mortars and howitzers of the Muslims, whose missiles also fell near Visegrad hydroelectric plant, kept firing from these Ustasha strongholds at regular intervals. By capturing this installation, which is Izetbegovic's ancient dream, conditions for the opening of the green route toward Sandzak would be created. Muslim provocations in the Foca battle zone were intensified for this reason, especially on the outskirts of this commune. Heavy infantry fire was directed toward (?Kacelj)-Mazlina, where an attempt by the Muslims to transport arms and ammunition was thwarted.

Army Said Planning New Attacks on Bosnian Serbs

LD2503002993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0004 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Banja Luka, March 24 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army is preparing fresh attacks on the Bosnian Serb republic from Croatian territory, the Bosnian Serb army command at Banja Luka said on Wednesday [24 March].

The deployment has been observed of Croatian infantry [words indistinct] left bank of the river Sava, which forms the natural boundary between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the command said.

At least 60,000 troops of the [words indistinct] are fighting on the side of the Moslems and Croats in the civil, ethnic and religious war which is tearing apart the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croatian [words indistinct] allies [words indistinct] from Croatian [words indistinct]. Moslem infantry and artillery on Wednesday attacked Bosnian Serbs along the entire front in the area of Maglaj in the north.

Croat and Moslem infantry launched assaults on the Serb positions around Gradacac, north of Maglaj, and shelled them from Gradacac.

Fierce artillery duels were fought on Wednesday also in the area between Mostar and Nevesinje in Herzegovina. Two Bosnian Serb troops were wounded in a clash which began with Croat and Moslem mortar and artillery shellings, said the Bosnian Serb army command at Bileca, Herzegovina.

Tudjman Demands UN Security Council Session

LD2403221993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman sent a letter to UN Security Council Chairman Terrence Christopher O'Brien demanding an urgent session of the UN Security Council. The letter says:

Your Excellency, it is with regret that I have to inform you that over the past few weeks the Serb insurgent forces in Croatia and units of the Serb forces in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been attacking a number of towns and villages in Croatia completely unprovoked by the Croatian side, thus inflicting numerous civilian casualties and serious material damage. These attacks have been directed against Sibenik, Zadar, Vodice, Biograd, Vinkovci, Zupanja, Djakovo, and so on. The aggressor has opened artillery fire on the area of Dubrovnik including the very town of Dubrovnik. We are particularly concerned that, despite a local peace agreement, the historical town of Dubrovnik has came under renewed attacks which could cause neighboring Montenegro to be drawn into a fresh conflict and hostilities to spread outside the UN protected areas in the Republic of Croatia.

At the same time, research by UN officials initiated at Croatian request has confirmed that Croatian forces have not been attacking Knin and Benkovac as the Serbian media have been reporting. It is unnecessary to stress that these aggressive activities represent more danger to the implementation of the Vance plan at a very delicate moment when the UN Security Council needs to adopt a resolution on the extension of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate in Croatia. It is of vital importance that these attacks are stopped immediately because they are not only going to undermine UN efforts and those of the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, but could also cause the spillover of the armed conflict into the neighboring areas and completely destroy all measures taken so far to restore mutual trust.

President Tudjman further lists examples of the involvement of the Belgrade government in inciting and actively supporting insurgent Serb forces in the protected areas where a general mobilization is under way. In the conclusion of the letter President Tudjman demands an urgent session of the UN Security Council.

Prime Minister Appeals to Christopher for Aid

LD2403171193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Croatian Prime Minister Hrvoje Sarinic has sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The letter stresses: The Republic of Croatia and all its citizens have made efforts to look after more than 400,000 victims of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The majority of these unfortunate people went through the horrors of concentration camps and mass rapes, lost all their property, and experienced many other misfortunes of war, the letter states.

The Croatian prime minister recalls that Croatia was the victim of aggression by the Yugoslav Army and Serb paramilitary units, as a result of which it suffered over $30 billion worth of damage. It has nevertheless offered more aid to refugees than any other state.

We express gratitude for any type of aid given to us by individuals and international organizations, Prime Minister Sarinic writes. Direct financial assistance received so far is very small. Since heath care is in a particularly difficult financial situation, fresh humanitarian and financial assistance is necessary.

Unless the Republic of Croatia urgently receives aid, health care for refugees will have to be reduced to emergency operations, as envisaged by international humanitarian law. Since the economic situation is deteriorating in Croatia and humanitarian aid is decreasing, the prime minister pleads with the U.S. secretary of state to set in motion a procedure for giving $20 million to a humanitarian organization of his choice, which would then allocate aid to the Republic of Croatia.

The Croatian prime minister has offered additional extensive information about this problem, stressing that due to the escalating war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia must shelter numerous new refugees apart from the 650,000 displaced people and refugees currently being sheltered in Croatia.

Trebinje Mayor Discusses Attacking Dubrovnik

LD2403162693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Trebinje, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—"We will no longer wait for Trebinje to be shelled to retaliate, and a dreadful experience may be awaiting Dubrovnik if the regular Croatian Army continues to do the same."

This was stated at a meeting with EC representatives and UN military observers by Trebinje Mayor Bozidar Vucurevic, who asked them to convey this message to the Croatian side. He stressed that he is not interested in whose town is bigger and more ancient and that Trebinje means the same to the citizens of Trebnije as Dubrovnik does to the citizens of Dubrovnik.

"We told them to convey to the Croatian side that Dubrovnik should get ready, and I personally proposed to the EC representatives not to risk their lives by staying in Dubrovnik overnight or by visiting it, because no one will announce when Dubrovnik is to perish," Vucurevic said.

He added that Trebinje cannot perish or experience a slow death while Dubrovnik remains spared under the pretext that it is an ancient city and cultural heritage which should be preserved.

"The EC representatives were told that we endured four bombardments of Trebinje and that by the fifth time when we could not help targeting Dubrovnik in retaliation. Yesterday, Trebinje was shelled for the sixth time, the main targets being schools, the hospital, and a food refrigeration plant. The Croats have been shelling the plant intentionally because they know that it contains ammonia equipment, and in the event it is damaged the citizens of Trebinje would suffocate," Vucurevic told journalists after the meeting.

The meeting between the civilian authorities of Trebinje and EC representatives was very brief. The Trebinje mayor did not wish to engage in futile talks, as he said, just conveying brief messages to the EC representatives for the Croatian side.

"The Serb people in Herzegovina no longer believe in the EC representatives. We are disappointed with your work and behavior. Therefore, you have to save the honor of the institutions you work for and also your personal honor, otherwise everything will be like in 1938 when the League of Nations ceased to exist and World War II broke out," Vucurevic stressed.

Krajina Deputies Demand Vote on Hadzic

AU2403211193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Report by Predrag Sarac]

[Text] It is demanded that the first point on the agenda at the forthcoming session of the republican assembly in Beli Manastir be a vote of confidence in Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic, and in the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina, as well as a debate on the replacement of Mile Paspalj as chairman of the assembly. This is the main conclusion from today's session of the Regional Assembly of Banija, Lika, Kordun, and North Dalmatia. After a break of one year, the deputies of 16 communes proceeded with the work of the Assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina, and agreed, among other things, on a unified stand at the forthcoming session of the Krajina parliament.

In continuing the work of the Regional Assembly in Korenica, it was proposed that the republican assembly adopt the text of a declaration on unity and harmony among the Serbian people and on overcoming all divisions. A draft letter to Butrus-Ghali was also presented. Among other things the letter demands from the UN secretary general and the Security Council the extension of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate for five years and the deployment of blue helmets along the line of separation after the Croatian Army has withdrawn from the current, temporarily occupied territories of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Elect Cvetanovic Assembly Chairman

AU2403203693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Text] At the beginning of the session of the deputies of the republic of Serbian Krajina in Korenica, which is continuing at the time of sending this dispatch, it was decided by vote that this assembly would maintain the continuity of the work of the assembly of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina which was, it was said, temporarily suspended approximately a year ago.

Mile Paspalj was relieved of his position as assembly chairman and Petar Cvetanovic, chairman of the Dvor communal assembly, was elected in his place. The assembly vice-chairmen are Ilija Djokic and Ratomir Ivanic. It was proposed and then voted that the function of the regional council of the republic of Serbian Krajina will be temporarily performed by the communal presidents who were the initiators of today's meeting.

The assembly issued a demand to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to extend the mandate of UN peace troops for five years. During this time, it would be possible to carry out a detailed delineation between the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Republic of Croatia. This would be followed by the realization of a political decision that would take into consideration the will of the Serbian people and in which state they wish to live, that is to say, with whom they wish to live. Any political solution should acknowledge the will of the Serbian people too, as is emphasized in the letter that is expected to be endorsed at the forthcoming assembly of the officials of the republic of Serbian Krajina called for Saturday [27 March] in Beli Manastir.

At today's assembly of the Serbian region of Krajina in Korenica the deputies will agree on the statements for the Beli Man Astir assembly and coordinate a declaration of unity in the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Krajina Issues Statement on Croatian Attacks

LD2403164593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1553 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Knin, March 24 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army on Wednesday continued heavily to shell Obrovac, Benkovac and other Serb towns and villages in the south of the Republic of Serb Krajina which is a United Nations Protected Area (UNPA), Krajina military sources said. Croatia on January 22 launched an aggression on Krajina. Attacks have been underway for two months despite a U.N. Security Council resolution which called for the Croatian Army to withdraw to earlier positions.

The statement by the General Staff of the Krajina Army said that Croatian cannon, howitzers and multiple rocket launchers were shelling civilian objects and residential areas. Many settlements have been destroyed and the Krajina General Staff has lodged a strong protest with the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) command.

With this constant artillery barrage on Serb towns and villages, the Croatian Army is trying to force Serb civilians to move out of this area and to prevent them from ever coming back by destroying their homes.

The statement said that Croatian forces on Wednesday also launched a strong attack on positions held by Krajina Serbs on the Zadar-Benkovac direction in sector south of this UNPA, especially in the region of the village of Smiljcic, in the Skradin hinterland and around the village of Cista Mala.

Heavy fighting was underway on Wednesday also on the Sibenik-Drnis direction, in the region of Umka, a dominant point which is controlled by Serb forces. Krajina Army positions on the Mali Alan pass on Mt. Velebit are constantly under fire from heavy long-range artillery units, said the statement, as well as the Serb line of defence in the wider region of Gracac and Gospic.

There were some skirmishes in the region of Banija, Sector North of the UNPA, and in western Slavonija, Sector West, where grouping of Croatian forces was observed, said the statememt.

Bobetko Visit to Cazin To Promote Provocations

93BA0685B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 93 p 5

[Article by S. Radulovic: "Croatia Is Bringing Up New Forces"]

[Text] Knin—The coldness that has encompassed the Dalmatian area seems to have helped calm the conflict on the northern Dalmatian battlefield. Yesterday, it was mostly the artillerymen who were performing their usual war task, and the Croats hit civilian targets in the Gorica and Kakma villages southwest of Benkovac. The Croatian artillery also hit Serbian positions in the Novi Grad area.

This relative lull on the battlefield, as a communique from the Serbian Army's headquarters stated, has been exploited by the Croatian side for bringing up fresh troops and reconnoitering the terrain. Groups of Croatian troops have also been observed in the regions of Maslenica, Posedarje, Podgradina, Zemunik Donji, and Prkos, while during evening hours the Croatian Air Force has been overflying the northern Dalmatia battlefield more and more frequently. The activities of the Croatian side are associated with the planning of a new large-scale attack, as is the involvement of the "Kresimir the Fourth" battalion from Livin and one Croatian Army unit each from Virovitica, Varazdin, and Osijek.

There have been provocations in the other border areas of the RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina] as well, according to the communique, and military sources claim that the day before yesterday Croatian General Janko Bobetko visited the command of the 5th Muslim Corps in the Cazin Krajina with the intention of persuading Fikret Abdic and Ramiz Drekovic to attack the Serbian forces from the rear in the broader area of Lika, Kordun, and Banija. The intensive provocations by the Muslim forces during the past two days are associated with that visit, and, it is believed, with an attempt to involve the Muslim forces in the Krajina-Croatian conflict.

Parliament Adopts Platform Prior to Talks in Rome

AU2503113393 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Excerpts] In the second day of its session, the State Chamber devoted its main attention to relations with Italy. The Chamber discussed our delegation's platform, before the expected negotiations with our Italian partners in Rome tomorrow, which will be held behind closed doors. The State Chamber made no other decisions today, although the deputies discussed several laws and draft laws. Vesna Burnik and Nadja Pengov report from the Slovene parliament:

[Begin recording] [Burnik] The proposal to issue a law and a draft law on the actual rights of foreigners to own real estate—which is supposedly a stumbling block for the Italians when it comes to real estate in the border zone—attracted the greatest attention of all the legal acts discussed today. There was a full range of different opinions about the presence of foreigners in Slovenia, either via property or through foreign investments. For example, the Democrats claimed that prior to voting on such a law, we should hold a political debate as to what should be the policy of the Slovene state toward foreign investments and the property of foreigners in Slovenia. This law only resolves some of the issues, while it lacks a global approach. The independent deputies and deputies of the Slovene National Party demanded the most restrictive provisions possible regarding property ownership by foreigners in Slovenia. The deputies of the United List stressed that we must create conditions in which foreigners will be interested in investing in the Slovene economy. [Passage omitted]

[Pengov] The Slovene delegation will depart for Rome tomorrow to hold talks with the Italian delegation. This was decided by the State Chamber Committee for International Relations yesterday, and confirmed by the State Chamber today after a more than three-hour debate that was closed to the public.

The positions for the negotiations with Italy endorsed by the Committee for International Relations yesterday, also remain roughly the same, although the deputies today put forward some additional addenda. Of these, let me first mention the provision stating Slovenia's willingness to open bilateral talks with Croatia about the position of the Italian minority. All other positions remain, so we were told, more or less the same and, if summarized, they would be as follows:

The talks with Italy are mandatory for Slovenia, as they are important for the further development of cooperation. Slovenia is understandably worried because the atmosphere for talks between the states has deteriorated in the last few months. The Slovene delegation will primarily concentrate on the position of the Slovene minority in Italy in Rome tomorrow. However, what is particularly important is that the Slovene delegation does not have the mandate to negotiate issues that concern the internal structure of the Republic of Slovenia—either the state borders or revision of the fully valid Osimo agreements. A recent so-called press statement by the Italian Foreign Ministry, distributed to (?journalists) in Brnik did, of course, worsen the atmosphere for the talks. However, the talks must continue despite this.

The Slovene side also emphasizes that the Italian minority in Slovenia is protected in accordance with the highest European standards. Slovenia expects that Italy will also adequately protect the status of the Slovene minority in Italy.

Another two points: A historic and cultural commission needs to pay greater attention to the events that hurt the Slovene population after the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo [treaty declaring Fiume an independent city, signed between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Italy in 1920] during fascist rule, and under the Italian occupation. Also, what has obviously recently turned into an important issue primarily for the Italian side—namely, the issue of returning property to people who opted for Italian citizenship [in 1954] [optanti]—was formally and legally resolved by the Rome Treaty, signed in 1983. This is all we have managed to learn for the time being. [Passage omitted] [end recording]

Federal

CE's Human Rights Mechanism Criticized

LD2403204693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Ministry official Dragan Ristic on Wednesday [24 March] said that the mechanism proposed by the Council of Europe for the protection of human rights in states which are not its members contains elements of pressure and blackmail.

Ristic briefed the Foreign Policy Committee of the Yugoslav Parliament's Chamber of Republics on the decision taken by the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly last February to set up a committee for the protection of human rights in countries which are not its members and that a plan of action has meanwhile been drafted.

The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry takes the position that the plan of action, already at its present early stage, incorporates certain mechanisms which may be used to "bring pressure to bear on nonmember states," said Ristic.

Under the plan, the committee should have seven members, three of them from the country in question, whose appointment would be subject to approval by the Council of Europe.

Ambassador at the Foreign Ministry Slavko Sukovic, who also addressed the session, said that "all that constitutes interference in the internal affairs of a state must be rejected."

Member of parliament's Foreign Policy Committee Igor Mirovic said that the proposal of the Council of Europe and the obligation, stemming therefrom, to permit an enquiry into human rights practices, should be accepted only if the Council of Europe accepted Yugoslavia's special guest status.

Mirovic, a ranking official of the Serbian Radical Party, insisted that "we should not accept the decisions of forums of which we are not members."

The Council of Europe, which rallies 28 countries, took away Yugoslavia's special guest status last June.

The Foreign Policy Committee proposed that, at their next joint session, the competent parliamentary committees discuss an initiative that Yugoslavia reapply for the special guest status in the Council of Europe.

General Panic Returns From 5-Day Visit to Iraq

AU2403152993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Mar 93 p 5

[B. S. report: "General Panic Returns From Iraq"]

[Text] Belgrade—Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, returned home on 22 March from a visit to Iraq, and that country's Defense Ministry in particular, the same way he left, suddenly and without any announcement. There has been no report about this almost sensational five-day visit, just as there has been no statement on it.

The only thing left for nimble reporters was to guess the main topic of the talks the Yugoslav general, the head of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, had with the Iraqis.

Jovanovic Meets Russia's Churkin in Washington

LD2403221493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2122 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Washington, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic met in Washington today with Vitaliy Churkin, Russian's special envoy to talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina. During the meeting in the Russian Embassy, held at Churkin's request, Jovanovic and Churkin discussed the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time when the present round of New York talks are coming to an end. Jovanovic and Churkin agreed that it is vital to resume the negotiating process until such a solution is reached which would be acceptable to all sides in the conflict.

NATO Accused of Using Mediterranean as Test Range

LD2503112793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1104 GMT 25 Mar 93

[By Dragan Milosavljevic]

[Text] Belgrade, March 25 (TANJUG)—The 16-member Western military alliance is, step by step, turning the Mediterranean and the former Yugoslavia into its strategic-maneuvering range.

Only a year after setting up the Standing Naval Force Mediterranean (STANAVFORMED), engaged in blocking the Otranto Strait since last July, NATO is examining secret plans for a defence system to be based on war ships in the Mediterranean, the news agency REUTERS said.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization needs these missile bases to punish the "breakaway" states in the region. The bases would be used to destroy Scud and similar missiles, with the U.S. in command of the defence shield. British sources said in restraint towards the new stage in "Natoization" of the Mediterranean and the Balkans.

The list of opponents which might serve as a range for a mini version of "the star wars" includes all the Mediterranean and Middle East countries which possess Scud missiles or develop their own missile technology.

In order to attract other NATO members to finance the "floating missile project," the U.S. points out that the project costs less than that of ground bases planned for the late 1990s.

The project has already been discussed between military officials from the U.S., France, Germany, Britain, Italy and the Netherlands, and its nucleus would be the U.S. project Egis (Zeus's shield) which is already in progress.

The project would actually be the second stage of a plan to make NATO the sole keeper of peace in Europe's and world's new order, as former NATO Commander Admiral John Galvin said in Naples last May. He then announced the inauguration of STANAVFORMED which is now a strong means of pressure in the political arbitration in the former Yugoslavia.

Apart from lethal ballistic computerized concepts for the Mediterranean and Middle East, the U.S. has around 20 projects of non-lethal weapons which might be tested in the Balkans in case of an intervention, the U.S. magazine AVIATION WEEK has said.

Hundreds of air-to-surface AFM 86 missiles are being modified by replacing their warheads with pulsating electromagnetic generators whose micro waves burn down electronic equipment targets, the AFP reported.

These 2,500-km-range missiles can totally put out of action the headquarters of military units and navy groups.

Croatian View on Role of UNPROFOR Attacked

93BA0699D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 17

[Article by Radoje Arsic: "To Krajina With Other People's Bayonets"]

[Text] *In defining the future mission of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], the Croatian side is openly demanding that the UN forces help it to establish authority in the areas in which it has become undesirable because of its actions.*

Zagreb, 18 Feb—In recent days the Croatian news media have been full of statements by statesmen here and commentaries on UNPROFOR, or rather about how they envision the future role of the peacekeeping forces. Through these statements, they want to convince the public that it only depends upon the good will of the Croatian authorities whether UNPROFOR will be permitted to remain, as well as what it will have to do in the future if it wants to extend its mandate.

What the Croatian side wants from UNPROFOR is quite clear, and can be summarized in the following statement: that others (i.e., international armed forces) should make it possible for them to establish authority in the areas where the people do not want them and where they are not capable of doing it themselves, because they do not accept that people as an equal and free one. In other words, they expect and demand that UNPROFOR, by consent or by force, subjugate the people in the areas of the Krajina, now under the protection of the peacekeeping forces.

In order to reach such a conclusion, it is sufficient to look at just a few statements by Croatian leaders and politicians within the current authorities. For example, the day before yesterday Assembly President Stjepan Mesic, on the occasion of a meeting in Zagreb with German parliamentarians, said that "UNPROFOR has not carried out its tasks in Croatia," commenting that the UN peacekeeping forces should carry out their tasks "in the near future, and if necessary by force."

Mesic defined those tasks of UNPROFOR's as "establishing control at the internationally recognized Croatian-Serbian border, thus cutting off Serbia's logistical support for the paramilitary formations." He also commented that "it is essential to ensure the establishment of Croatian authority throughout the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia, and the return of the exiles and refugees to their homes," also noting that "UNPROFOR cannot carry that out without the use of force."

Thus, judging by the current desires of the Croatian authorities, the mission of the UN peacekeeping forces is to subjugate the Serbian people in the Krajina by force of arms on behalf of Croatia, and moreover all within a precisely defined period. Otherwise UNPROFOR will be dismissed.

They are not only trying to persuade the Croatian people that the peacekeeping forces have not fulfilled their mission, but they are also stubbornly trying to show that the UN peacekeeping forces had a different mission than the one that was actually assigned to them. That can be seen from the claim by the Croatian ambassador to the UN in Geneva, Miomir Zuzul, who said the following in the newspapers here a few days ago:

"A considerable part of the Serbian media and the Serbian public incorrectly thinks that UNPROFOR's role is to protect the Serbian people. Its role is to ensure, by peaceful means, I emphasize, the establishment of the Croatian state in its internationally recognized borders."

That claim is naturally contrary to the very name of the UNPA's [UN Protected Areas], and also contrary to the contents of the very agreement on the basis of which the peacekeeping forces came to this area. The essence of that agreement is that UNPROFOR will make possible the creation of an atmosphere and relationship between the warring sides so that they can arrive at a political solution by peaceful means, while it is clearly written that UNPROFOR's presence will not prejudice a political solution. That fact is least of all connected with Croatia's present demands that the UN peacekeeping forces make it possible, by consent or by force, to establish its authority in the areas that it no longer controls.

In the same poll, the director of Croatia's state news agency, HINA, Milorad Sibl, reasoned as follows: "We would welcome UNPROFOR with a modified mandate—to ensure all the functions of the Croatian state on the territory that is internationally recognized. By fulfilling those demands, it would save us and the international community from a possible war."

Interesting—the world is supposed to take responsibility for this and use force to drive a people into what it does not want, and moreover to do this in order to fulfill the wish of the present Croatian regime, which drove that people away from it through its own actions.

Home-Based Businesses Break Sanctions

93BA0699A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 15

[Article by Snezana Bogdanovic: "$400 From Barbie"]

[Text] *There are more and more intermediary agencies, which are promising up to $400 a month for working at home; middlemen from Grasevica, Kaludjerica, Gospodjinac.*

"Work at home, foreign exchange earnings up to 2000 German marks. Send a brief resume, an envelope, and a stamp to this address...."

That is approximately how most of the advertisements that have been appearing in the "Employment" column of the domestic press lately read. That there are more and more people who are barely making ends meet or who have been left without work and are grasping at any "straw" is also confirmed by the fact that in a few days a thousand people contact every one of these just created agencies which are offering work. They say that the telephone simply does not stop ringing. Some people, however, have succeeded in even avoiding that problem: if you dial the telephone number in the hope that you will find a life-saving solution, a job, and some sort of earnings, an automatic secretary will answer you and explain everything.

What kind of business is this, actually?

One Dollar per Person

Zoran Stojanovic from Belgrade says that the business that he deals in is completely new to him too and that he is still waiting for the initial results from his enterprises. The enterprise was actually not too demanding.

Interested parties respond to an advertisement like the one at the beginning of our article, and then they pay Zoran 7,000 dinars and receive from him advertising-informative material about how to get in touch with an American agency that represents 200 firms there for which they are actually supposed to be working. One waits approximately 45 days for an answer, and then the business starts. You wait for a package and work at home.

These are several different jobs: people assemble children's toys, Barbies, toy trucks, and then ball-point pens, or else package advertising material and some sort of forms in envelopes.

Our interlocutor emphasized that interested parties from our country do not pay anything to the agency there that represents the 200 American firms. He also mentioned that about 1,000 people had contacted him. If he receives 7,000 each from half of them, and moreover the corresponding commissions from the Americans, the amount of which is secret, then a clever businessmen from here can earn a considerable amount. How Stanojevic got in touch with the American company is also secret, however.

Another interlocutor of ours from Sapac, who wanted to remain anonymous, is only starting in this business, because 500 people contacted him, he received their money, and now the packages from America are awaited. All in all, from the moment that you contact the American firm for the first time until the moment when you receive the package and start work, at least 45 days must pass. Otherwise, we received the information from this interlocutor that he also receives compensation for his work from the American employer—one dollar per person.

It is hard to determine how long this will pay off for the employers here, because there are more and more people who would like to be the contacts with the American firm. If one dollar is received for each "newly hired person" it seems that soon this will not be worthwhile, since the "American employers" have multiplied considerably here. In fact, there are some in Grasevica, Kaludjerica, Prijepolje, Gospodjinac....

Lucky Ones Picked From a Drum

Miodrag Vujicic from Cacak said that he had already been engaged in this job for five and a half years, and that he had "found jobs for" about 500 people. He cooperates with the American firms Ace Publishing and Work at Home. For the forms and instructions that he sends to interested parties, he receives 11,000 dinars apiece, and they receive $400 per package for the work performed.

"After they receive the material from me and contact the American firm, they wait 27 days for the first package. It weighs about 3 kg and contains 1,000 to 2,500 parts that have to be assembled. The package is then sent back and one waits for compensation by check or money order," said Vujicic, who added: "Not everyone who contacts them gets a job. They make a selection, or get picked from a drum.

We asked our interlocutor to put us in touch with one of his clients, assuming that there were a lot of them, since he had already been engaged in this job for five years. We expected that they could tell us more details about the job that brings them $400 a month. We did not succeed in finding anyone like that, however.

"After I sent the forms received from the middleman here to the United States, I received a reply in which they explained to me more details about the business, and also explained that I had to pay $20, $30, or even $50, depending on which specific job I chose. They mentioned that only after this, packages would come and the actual work would start," said Predrag Brankovic. He added, "Any amount is too high for me, and it all seems quite unsafe to me. I do not want to waste any more time on this!"

Milosav Damjanovic from Sremski Karlovac said that he also received a letter with an offer for him to choose one of three possible jobs.

"But now they are asking me for $20 before they will send me a package. It does not cross my mind to do it. If they are a serious firm and if they need labor, then they will send me the package and then it will not be difficult for me to send them this mandatory $20. This way...." explained our interlocutor, who added: "My friend from Novi Sad is already doing a lot of work like this for a Swiss firm, and is indeed earning good money—about 400 'Swiss francs' per month. They are even increasing it for him—420, and 450. They are testing him, checking him, and encouraging him with small raises. I do not know how long it will last."

We were not able to get in touch with the "lucky person" from Novi Sad, however, but our interlocutor who is still tumbling should probably be believed.

Judging by the large number of advertisements offering work at home, however, this business should already be considerably flourishing here. All right, perhaps it is just getting under way; or how is it that those who have already been engaged in it for five years do not know a single person who is actually a real little rich man with American earnings under the present conditions, since they made it possible for him? Until this business finally gets going, we can only trust that it is not some sort of "fishing in troubled waters" again.

Import of Cars Continues Despite Sanctions

93BA0699B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 13

[Article by J. Danilovic: "Both Boba and Brena Are Importing Mercedes"]

[Text] *During all of last year, the purchase of 1,000 automobiles from abroad was registered, but that number will be exceeded during the first two months of this year.*

Vrsac, 18 Feb—A great deal of interest was aroused in Vrsac by a transaction by Boba Zivojinovic, our well-known tennis player, who imported and picked up 86 automobiles, mostly Mercedes of the latest models, at the Batin highway border crossing near Vrsac. At that moment those present also paid attention to Lepa Brena, who came from Belgrade to meet this unusual convoy of four-wheeled vehicles. As we have heard, it was the largest importation of automobiles at this border crossing, and that is why it aroused great attention.

Otherwise, because of the low official exchange rate for foreign exchange, on the basis of which customs and tax duties are calculated, imports have become increasingly profitable for several months now. With respect to automobiles, their importation is currently considered the best way of acquiring enormous (foreign exchange) earnings.

For instance, a buyer will only pay about 1,000 marks in customs duties for importing the most modern BMW, in the dinar equivalent value, of course, because the official exchange rate is about 20 times lower than the one that prevails on the black market.

One importer told us that from a turbo-diesel Golf, the price for which is about 23,000 marks including customs duties and taxes, he earns at least 5,000 marks, which corresponds to five years of good wages in enterprises.

During all of last year, the Customs Administration in Vrsac registered about 1,000 imported new automobiles, but because of the above-mentioned exchange rate for foreign exchange, this figure will be reached and perhaps even exceeded in just the first two months of this year.

Serbia

Factory, Firm Employees To Stage Warning Strike

LD2403122893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1047 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—Belgrade factories, firms and institutions will on Friday [26 March] go on a strike of warning because the Serbian Government and Chamber of Economy have not met their demands.

The strike is staged by the Independent Trade Union of Serbia (SSS). Employees in other Serbian firms will stop work for one hour on Friday, SSS said.

The chief reasons for the strike are poor working conditions and low standard of living, SSS President Milorad Vujasinovic told reporters on Tuesday.

On March 12, the SSS signed an eight-point agreement with the Serbian Government and Chamber of Economy, envisaging measures to revive the economy, stop the price hike and payment of agreed, minimum wages.

'None of the eight points has been respected', Vujasinovic said.

He cited in example that the February minimum wage in Serbia was 1,055,000 dinars (around 50 marks at the 'black' exchange rate) but that the republic's Chamber of Economy subsequently lowered it to 915,000 dinars.

The average salary in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (made up of Serbia and Montenegro) stood at around 560 marks in late 1991. Last January, it plunged to 150 marks, and this January fell to around 30 marks.

At least one-third of Yugoslavia's 2.3 million employees in the social sector were sent on paid leave after the United Nations Security Council last May imposed economic sanctions on the F.R.Y.

The SSS warned that it would stage a general strike in all of Serbia if its demands are not fulfilled.

Seselj Says Accusers Lying

AU2503100993 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by S. Ristic: "Seselj's Answer to Aleksandar Taskovic's Accusations"]

[Text] "The leadership of the Serbian Deception (Renewal) Movement [obmana—Serbo-Croat for deception, obnova—Serbo-Croat for renewal] has taken leave of its senses. They are aware that they no longer stand a chance in politics, so they do not care what means they use to insult their political opponents. It is hard to make out who is the biggest liar—Aleksandar Taskovic, Mihajlo Markovic or their boss, Vuk Draskovic." This was the Serbian Radical Party's [SRS] president, Vojislav Seselj's answer to the accusations against him made by Aleksandar Taskovic, the DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] deputy from the ranks of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], at a press conference held two days ago.

Seselj goes on to add that he wants POLITIKA's editorial board to take a look at the issue of the magazine ON, dated 6 December 1991. This issue published a (color) photograph showing Prince Aleksej II, Mirjana Zelen-Maksa, one of the directors of the BORBA publishing company, Rade Atic, editor in chief of ON, and the attorney Borivoje Borovic, deputy president of the SPO. It cannot hurt to add that Borovic is Vuk Draskovic's brother-in-law, married to his sister.

On Attorney Borovic

However, this is not all, says Seselj, and adds that Borivoje Borovic met Aleksej II in Geneva, in November 1991. On that occasion, he introduced Mirjana Maksa as his secretary and interpreter. I do not know from where Borovic and Maksa know each other, says Seselj.

Aleksej II named Borovic his attorney and knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Belgrade. Soon after, Mihajlo Markovic, an SPO deputy, asked at a meeting of the Serbian People's Assembly that Dragutin Zelenovic's government recognize the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the name of the Serbian Government. In exchange for this, claimed Markovic, Prince Aleksej would secure $3.5 billion for the Serbian people. Moreover, all this can be read in the issue of ON, dated 20 December of the same year.

In January of 1992, a conflict broke out between the SPO and Prince Aleksej, because Vuk Draskovic asked for enormous funds in cash to be paid directly to him. That is why Aleksej II broke off all contact with Draskovic, claims Seselj, and with Rade Atic acting as mediary, turned to the SRS.

"In February of 1992, Aleksej II invited me to be his guest in Spain. I was accompanied by my wife and two members of the party's Executive Council—Novak Savic and Slobodan Stankic. We discussed two things: the idea of renting Veliko Ratno Ostrvo [an island in the Danube near Belgrade] for a period of 30 years, because a group of businessmen wanted to open casinos, entertainment, business, and financial centers on the island. The other topic discussed was the return of the head of Emperor Lazar to Serbia. According to folklore and the statements of Serbian intellectuals, Milic of Macva for one, Lazar's head is buried in the tomb of Murat in Bursa," recounts Seselj.

No Catholic Decoration

While in Spain, Seselj held a press conference which was aired on the third program of Belgrade Radio Television. At the conference, in answer to questions posed by foreign reporters, Seselj said that he had offered no one the Serbian crown, and that this was impossible anyway. "I made it clear in no uncertain terms that if our country were to be a monarchy one day, this would be decided only by the People's Assembly of Serbia, and by the people in a referendum. The people and the Assembly would also decide who would be king."

Moreover, claims Seselj, it is a lie that I received any kind of Catholic or Ustasha decoration. Seselj adds that all the members of the delegation were given the decoration of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem by Aleksej II, while Seselj also received the decoration of St. George.

"The fact that I was decorated does not mean that I became a member of the order. Indeed, to this day, I have not joined any order whatsoever," claims Seselj.

Borivoje Borovic was named a knight of the above mentioned order, which is an office. I believe this speaks for itself, adds Seselj.

As for his connection with Maksa, Seselj claims that he saw the lady in question for the first time in the photograph published in the aforementioned magazine, dated 6 December. "I saw her in person in Spain, where she was introduced as the secretary and interpreter to Aleksej II. On that occasion she mentioned that her parents live in Arandzelovac."

In answer to accusations that he is Tudjman's man, Seselj says that the one who organizes violent demonstrations, thereby spilling Serbian blood on the streets of

Belgrade, is actually in Tudjman's service. As is the one who claims that Serbia and the Serbian people were the last bastion of communism in Europe, the one who spread defeatism and encouraged desertion from the Yugoslav People's Army while the war was raging in Croatia, the one who accused Serbia of being to blame for the war, the one who wants to remove the present authorities by force, the one who has breakfast with Bill Clinton while his people are starving because of the sanctions.... If Vuk Draskovic were to turn up in Zagreb, says Seselj, the Croats would greet him with enthusiasm. However, I wonder why he does not dare to go to his place of origin, to his Herzegovina.

Pavlovic Says Serbia Open to Foreign Journalists

LD2403172493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1649 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia will remain fully open to foreign reporters, Serbian Minister of Information Milivoje Pavlovic said in an interview published by the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Wednesday [24 March].

Pavlovic described as unacceptable the advocacy by some public figures of a tougher approach towards foreign journalists whose reports about Serbia are incorrect.

The measure of the truth about Serbia in international media now depends on the interests of big countries, said Pavlovic. He added that it was not easy for foreign reporters to write contrary to the already established anti-Serbian stereotypes.

Pointing out that reporters were not in a position to decide on the concept and editorial policy of their newspapers, which is the prerogative of the editors, Pavlovic added that there were also examples of gross falsification of reports sent from the spot.

In his view, the work of foreign journalists in Belgrade is on the whole satisfactory.

"Most of the foreign reporters have not violated the basic principles of journalism," he said and added that "writing about Serbia today entails not only professional skill but also a great deal of personal courage."

Ministry Survey Indicates 'Brain Drain' Accelerating

AU2403202393 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 93 p 7

[Report by O. Nikolic: "586 Experts Left the Country"]

[Excerpts] According to the first, preliminary report on the implementation of the project entitled "Our Scientists and Experts Abroad," which was initiated by the Serbian Ministry for Science and Technology, 586 doctors of sciences, holders of MA's, and other highly educated experts left the country between 1979 and 1992. About 55 percent of this entire registered "brain drain" has left in the last three years, while for 1992 it was approximately 21 percent.

The research of the Ministry and the Institute for International Politics and Economics encompasses the faculties of all six universities in the republic, as well as scientific-research organizations and research units in industry. However, it should be pointed out that the initial results are based on data relating to only one half the entire sample. The other participants in the poll have either not completed the questionnaire or their questionnaires have not yet been processed.

The results of the Serbian Ministry for Science and Technology are, however, significantly different from those presented at the end of last year by the former Serbian minister for science and technology, Vlastimir Matejic. He said at a news conference that the brain drain in our country had became excessive, because about 1,000 scientists, or between 17 and 20 percent of the entire research population, had left the country in 1992 alone. According to Matejic, the people who left last year took with them about 30 thousand years [figure as published] of education and 30 years (on average) of unrealized national product, which in terms of money, according to the most conservative estimates, amounts to $600 million for each scientist who left the country in which he was educated. According to Matejic, because of the exodus in 1992, the gross national product of the country in the next 20 years will be reduced by $30 billion. World news agencies have also reported on the mass exodus "of unprecedented proportions." [passage omitted]

The United States—Most Desirable

According to the preliminary analysis, the most desirable countries to emigrate to are the United States (which took 28 percent of those who left the country), Canada (13 percent), Australia (about 9 percent), and other developed countries in Europe. According to the research, the majority of scientists and experts who left the country want to cooperate with the colleagues who stayed behind in the institutions at home. [passage omitted]

[Box p 7]

Canada—Promised Land

The brain drain has recently assumed increasingly alarming proportions in Yugoslavia. This was also reported by the world famous agency REUTER. One of the most desirable countries for the local intellectual elite is Canada, whose immigration department receives between 100 and 500 applications a day from experts who want to leave "the country that is not at war." As the first destination country for Yugoslav emigrants, Canada last year issued 2,900 emigration visas. This number is expected to double in 1993. In addition to Canada, other countries of interest for Yugoslav experts are the United States, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand.

Serbian Assembly Adopts 1993 Budget

LD2503104693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 25 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's resumed Parliament session, deputies in the Serbian National Assembly have adopted, at the Government proposal, the budget for this year, which has been increased from 59.207 billion to 61.425 billion dinars.

The increase in the budget was justified with the need for more efficient work by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which requires more funds in order to invest in basic equipment and installations, as well as provisions necessary to protect social standards in the Ministry.

The increase will be also used to fund propaganda and information activity abroad.

Commentary Sees Changes In Russia As Crucial For Serbs

AU2503100593 Sarajevo JAVNOST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 93 p 11

[Commentary by Kolja Besarovic: "The Key in the Kremlin"]

[Text] Although some analysts see Yeltsin's recent defeat in the power struggle which took place in the Congress of People's Deputies not only as the beginning of the end of the present Kremlin pro-western cadre, but also as a signal of imminent, radical changes in Russian foreign policy towards Yugoslavia (the Serbian question, that is), these evaluations, despite certain encouraging signs, should nevertheless be taken with a pinch of salt.

Despite the fact that the withholding of former special authority and the congressional refusal of the desired referendum have significantly weakened his position, the first Russian "democratically elected" president will not give up easily, he will not step down without a fight. At present, he is supported by the West, and by influential, although not numerous, domestic powers (from the mafia and the business structures, to democrat cosmopolitans and some of the miners who are still manipulated by his former demagogic promises). However, in defending his position, Yeltsin is counting more on some other circumstances like the apathy of most of the population, heterogeneousness, the parliamentary opposition (or the present majority), and the media's receptiveness to cleverly presented statements that a possible upheaval in the Kremlin could lead to civil war and the collapse of the Russian Federation.

Owing to these limiting factors, it is doubtful whether the Congress and the Supreme Soviet will be able, not only to eliminate Yeltsin, but also, in this period of double rule, to realize short-term goals—the elimination of his associates, the representatives of the present unsuccessful state policy. This primarily concerns the present famous foreign minister, Andrey Kozyrev, without whose retreat no essential process of distancing Russian diplomacy from its western "partners" can be initiated, including distancing from the present extremely anti-Serbian policy in the process of solving the Yugoslav crisis.

Just to what extent did Yeltsin and Kozyrev really take into account the Parliament's attitude, can perhaps best be seen in the fact that, with practical moves, not only did they not strive for the lifting or relaxing of the sanctions against Yugoslavia, but they also gave up on the for a time, loudly announced requests that Croatia should also be punished for its aggression in Krajina.

In the distribution of assignments, the Russian "support to the Serbs" essentially boiled down to "pressuring the victim" through a cadre of "protegees." This can best be seen in the insistence of official Moscow authorities that the Vance-Owen maps be accepted, or more precisely, in Yeltsin's barely disguised threat to the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that should they reject these unacceptable solutions, they would bear all the negative consequences of such a move. Moreover, this is not all, because the representatives of the Russian executive authorities expressed their readiness to participate with their troops in the NATO operation of monitoring the truce after the signing of the peace treaty, or to be more exact, to participate in the occupation of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There can be no doubt that the Congress and the Supreme Soviet (its greater part, that is), hold completely different views, which is confirmed by the increasingly frequent visits of Russian parliament delegations to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as by the invitation extended to the president of the Serbian republic, Radovan Karadzic, to visit Russia. Despite these obviously encouraging changes, it remains to be seen if and how, in its present delicate position, the Parliament will be able to influence the moves of the executive authorities, still embodied in Yeltsin and Kozyrev.

There is another danger, at present rarely discussed, but realistic, that even if Yeltsin were to fall, the support extended to the Serbs could become relative if the "centralist," moderately pro-western parliamentary forces were to come to power. The leaders of these groups, Russian Vice President (Rutskoy), and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Khasbulatov, have, after all, appeared on the political scene as representatives of "democratic", pro-Yeltsin forces (at one time, they both closely cooperated with Yeltsin). Therefore, the proposals of influential western "Kremlin specialists," who say that in the present Russian situation, one should not "stubbornly bet on a single horse," but should rather try to reach a consensus with other, undoubtedly "democratic forces," should be given careful consideration. Although on behalf of the Parliament, Khasbulatov is demanding the establishing of different, less dependent relations with the western partners, and striving for greater Russian independence, one should not forget that this "ferocious opponent of Yeltsin," (a Muslim), asked

for direct military intervention against the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina during his recent official visit to Kuwait. It is true that he later denied this statement, but he did not erase it from the memory of those who doubt whether such a personality can really honestly and successfully represent Russian national interests, much less pro-Serbian policy.

Of course, it is possible that the "centralists," owing to their own interests and the influence of truly patriotic forces in the authorities (or in the Parliament), will after all, be forced to conduct a much more radical pro-Serbian policy. It cannot be excluded that their dominant influence will be only temporary. Moreover, we cannot exclude the as yet unlikely variant, according to which in the case of dramatic upheavals in the Kremlin, patriotic forces will soon come to power. In other, more normal circumstances, positive changes in Russian policy would be quite enough, but the problem lies in the fact that in the present race for time, the difference between moderate and radical patriotic authorities in Moscow could be crucial for the defense of the Serbs, especially those in the Serbian republic.

Milosevic's Political Skills, Weaknesses

93BA0685A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 93 p 13

[Interview with Prof. Kosta Cavoski; place and date not given: "With the Aid of Two Serbian Clans"]

[Text] Kosta Cavoski (1941), a regular professor at the Law School in Belgrade, studied together with Slobodan Milosevic. That is also where their association ended.

"We have known each other for 19 years, and during our studies we had cordial collegial relations. Afterwards life separated us and threw us onto two different sides. But since both of us went into politics, there have no longer been any sort of contacts or conversations between us."

Because of his criticism of the 1971 draft constitutional amendments, in 1975 Cavoski, an instructor at that time, was expelled from the Law School, and three years earlier, from the LC [League of Communists]. At the end of December 1990, he was reinstated at the Law School as a regular professor. In addition to books and papers in the field of legal theory, he has also published the following works in the field of political theory and political philosophy: "Philosophy of an Open Society," "Possibilities for Freedom in Democracy," "Revolutionary Machiavellianism," and "Concerning the Enemy." He is also the author of the book "Party Pluralism or Monism," with Vojislav Kostunica, and also "Tito—Technology of Rule" and the study "Slobodan Against Freedom."

We asked Cavoski how he viewed Milosevic's coming to power. Was it the conjunction of circumstances, or the fulfillment of a plan?

[Kosta Cavoski] It is hard to say whether Slobodan Milosevic aimed at the very highest positions from the very beginning of his political career. His rise to the top was more or less ordinary: According to the unwritten rules at the time, he had to find a reliable, powerful, and well-disposed patron. His first political protector, who remained one until the end, was Ivan Stambolic. In the background, naturally, was also Ivan's much more powerful uncle, who is already completely forgotten today, Peter Stambolic. Thanks to Ivan Stambolic, at the end of 1961 Nebojsa Popov proposed Milosevic as the organizational secretary of the party branch at the Law School. Thus, in addition to Ivan Stambolic, Popov also played a part in launching the future Serbian autocrat.

Concealing Ingratitude

Milosevic, however, quickly felt that at the beginning of his career, the assistance and support of Ivan Stambolic were not enough. That is why he made an effort to be on the best possible terms with then leader of the Belgrade party Milojko Drulovic and Belgrade Mayor Branko Pesic. The latter was obviously more well-disposed toward him, and so after graduation, along with Spiro Galovic, he appointed him as his personal adviser. In the meantime, however, Milosevic's chief patron, Ivan Stambolic, reached the position of head of Tehnogas, and Milosevic soon became his deputy. Milosevic's other base was the Markovic family. At that time his father-in-law, Moma Markovic, no longer represented anything in current politics, but on the other hand Momo's brother brother, Draza Markovic, was rising rapidly. Slobodan Milosevic thus built his political career under the patronage of what were then the two most powerful political clans in Serbia—the Stambolic and Markovic families.

For a long time Milosevic succeeded in concealing his fundamental characteristic—ingratitude, and even ruthlessness toward his benefactors. He reached his first big position, chairman of the Serbian LC's Central Committee, with Ivan Stambolic's assistance. Then his competitor was precisely Draza Markovic, whom Milosevic and Stambolic jointly blocked and forced into retirement. Obviously Ivan Stambolic did not realize then that Milosevic's ingratitude toward Markovic was not any sort of exception, and that he himself could easily be the next victim. That, naturally, did happen at the famous eighth session, and Milosevic not only overthrew but also unnecessarily humiliated his long-standing friend and chief protector.

In any case, Slobodan Milosevic skillfully exploited his political patrons as long as they could help him, and then he ruthlessly liquidated them politically. It seems that he has kept that habit to the present day, judging by the extremely frequent changes in the most important people in the Serbian and Yugoslav leaderships.

[Jovic] In view of that assertion of yours, how do you view the people around Milosevic, and what are their roles?

[Cavoski] Milosevic considers the people around him, especially his closest collaborators, to be something like easily perishable and consumable goods. It is as if he is adhering to that well-known rule that servants should be dismissed from time to time so that they do not become too strong. Serbian prime ministers should draw a particular lesson from this. It is not known which of them, from Stanko Radmilovic, through Dragutin Zelenovic, to Radoman Bozovic, served more faithfully and humbly and ruled for a short time, and was then more coldly dismissed. Not even the government of the just-elected Nikola Sainovic, will last very long, if Milosevic follows his established custom. As early as the end of the year, a need may arise to shift the blame onto someone for all the mistakes and failures of current policy—and I am afraid that there will be a lot of them, on both the national and economic levels.

9 March Lost

[Jovic] Has Milosevic come close to being shaken so far, and if so, when?

[Cavoski] Milosevic has been seriously shaken only once, on 9 March 1991. At that time he virtually lost his head. How else can one interpret his unexpected demand to the Yugoslav Presidency, which was no longer well-disposed toward him, that it sent the Army and tanks into the streets of Belgrade? Milosevic's insecurity only lasted two or three weeks, however, until he realized that the parliamentary opposition was not capable of forcing his fall.

[Jovic] That was surely not the only mistake that the opposition made with respect to Milosevic during the past two years.

[Cavoski] The other occasion when Milosevic's rule was jeopardized was the elections, both in December 1990 and two years later. On both occasions, however, the leaders of the strongest opposition parties virtually gave him the victory in the elections, since they were not capable of previously forced honest and completely equal conditions for the electoral competition. Milosevic was also in big trouble two years later. He needed some sort of elections badly in order to acquire at least partial legitimacy for his rule, which was encumbered by many defeats. The leaders of the opposition parties did not have the strength to take advantage of his weakness, and so they naively, and perhaps even stupidly, consented to conditions under which they had to be defeated.

[Jovic] How do you view Milosevic as a politician on the domestic and international levels?

[Cavoski] Perhaps it is too early for a final judgment on Milosevic as a ruler, since he is still in power, and an end to it is not in sight. Nevertheless, the obvious disparity between his skill in blocking and crushing domestic opponents and the constant failures in Yugoslav and international politics is striking. That disparity can be partly explained by his good knowledge of our social mentality and political temperaments on one hand, and on the other hand, by his complete lack of a feeling for the reaction of public opinion and the methods of political thinking abroad. Similarly, Milosevic also showed a lack of understanding, although less, with respect to Yugoslavia: As long as the joint state existed at least on paper, he seemed to be convinced that it was possible to preserve it, if not willingly and by agreement, then by force and pressure.

There is no doubt at all that after Josip Broz, Milosevic has been the most skillful party politician. He knew how to make a timely assessment of the balance of power in the ruling party at that time, and adapt to all the changes in current ideology, while never losing sight of his ultimate goal. He also knew how to wait, and even suffer minor unpleasantness, until the circumstances were ripe for crushing those who were in his way. And when that moment came, he did not hesitate and adroitly took risks. This combination of patience and determination is essential for a politician with big ambitions. That is also, perhaps, Milosevic's strongest side.

[Jovic] And the weakest one?

[Cavoski] His weakess side is his underestimation of Yugoslav and foreign politicians, whom he first of all ignored, and then turned all of them against him without exception. The results of that behavior are obvious to all of us. He thought that he could treat international factors like provincial committee secretaries, and that he could deceive them without a qualm and if necessary even replace them. He was badly mistaken. As soon as foreign statesmen saw his character and the way he behaved, no one believed him anymore, not even when he was clearly telling the truth. If anything costs him his head, it will primarily be his foreign policy failures and the hopeless situation in which the entire Serbian people has ended up because of them.

[Box, p 13]

Good Politician

Brana Crncevic: "When you say, 'Milosevic or a king,' then you have said something. Those are two things concerning which the people can quickly calculate and choose one or the other. I think that it is clear whom. But when you say him or all of us, that is dramaturgy. There is no people that is pardoned because of one person. There are only individuals who are pardoned in the name of the people. One or two people are pardoned. There is something frivolous about that version of a resignation. Since I know him personally and cooperate with him, if I discovered in him what they are discovering, I would probably demand his resignation too. But I have not been able to discover it, perhaps because I look at him from close up, and they believe that one can see better from a distance. If Milosevic were not a good politician, there would not be so many answers and so many challenges for what he is doing."

[Box, p 13]

How Against Their Own

Milosevic has never lacked the ability to sense the "call of the times" in time. At a time when he is relying more and more upon people among whom some have had international warrants issued for them and are on the Assembly's benches, he has loudly started a struggle against crime. Sainovic is obediently repeating that after him, and there is no doubt that other people in the government will once again pull out of oblivion that famous phrase about a "law-governed state." All of that is nice, naturally, but a person wonders—won't they probably strike their own people?

[Box, p 13]

Manner of a Totalitarian

At a time when traditional totalitarian regimes have mostly left the world scene, Milosevic, in his manner, has retained something from the famous totalitarian leaders. He is inclined to avoid public appearances, like Stalin and Hitler, and it seems that he would rather keep his enemies uncertain than please his supporters. Nevertheless, so far that has not hurt his popularity among the people too much. The question is only how many more economic and national defeats his career can withstand.

Minister on Need To Ban Certain Banks

93BA0685C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 93 p 7

[Article by D. Sverko: "Some Banks Will Have To Close Their Doors"]

[Text] Belgrade—Some banks and financial institutions will soon have to close their doors. Specifically, in a few days the Serbian government will adopt changes to certain legal provisions in the financial sphere, by which the work of a certain number of banks and financial organizations will in effect be banned, Minister of Industry Momir Pavlicevic stated at yesterday's meeting of the Presidency of the Serbian Chamber of Commerce, which he attended. He added that it was high time for the state to impose order in the sphere of business, especially financial business.

He emphasized that priorities in encouraging production would also be determined. In addition to agriculture, the producers of fertilizers, pesticides, and also coal, metals, textiles, and leather will receive money from the primary issuance as a financial injection. Priority will be given to basic chemistry, since, as he said, Petrohemija, on which 40 other factories depend, or the construction materials industry, on which, for instance, the 200,000 workers employed in construction depend, cannot be allowed to come to a stop.

The Chamber's Presidency also advocated special use of the primary issuance and incentives especially for those enterprises which have shown that they can operate even under the conditions of the blockade.

There were also proposals—Stojan Dabic, director of Investbank, said that the possibility of buying or selling directly with cash foreign currency should be introduced. In practice, this means that a customer should be allowed to pay with foreign exchange directly at a shop, instead of going first to Zeleni Venac and selling 100 marks in order to pay for something with the money obtained. That would avoid the shortages of cash money, and the necessary foreign exchange would be put into production and the banks, instead of onto the street and among dealers. He advocated legally obliging the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the SDK [Public Auditing Service] to investigate ways to move cash money.

Announcing the closing of some banks and financial institutions, regardless of the consequences, Pavlecevic emphasized yesterday that this would refute the public rumors that the state was backing some of them, and it was certain, he said, that the authorities could not even have an alibi in the fact that it was a question of "useful crime." One of the participants in the discussion previously stated that it was necessary to acquire money for imp[illegible]rtilizers by any means whatsoever, even fro[illegible]r Dafina, because otherwise the yield of wheat (i[illegible]ot fertilized) would be half of what was planned.

Skepticism Concerning Government's War on Crime

93BA0685D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 pp 12-15

[Article by Nenad Lj. Stefanovic: "Net for Little Fish"]

[Text] *Reacting to last week's announcement by the government of a war on crime, representatives of the opposition parties, but also many independent intellectuals, primarily people close to the legal profession, are almost unanimously repeating that "arsonists cannot put out fires."*

Radmilovic squeezed "dry dogwood," Zelenovic promised a "fast track," Bozovic was declared "Mister 10,000" even though the inflation that he left behind him is at least five times higher, and after just a few days, the government of new Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic has received a collective nickname—the "Untouchables." At the very start, repeating the basic messages of the vow that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic uttered at the end of January 1993, this government promised citizens that it would fight for peace, economic prosperity, and the suppression of crime. At the beginning of last week, after Slobodan Milosevic's meeting with the members of the new government, a communique was also issued, in which it was acknowledged for the first time that Serbia was at war—war was declared on all types of abuses, corruption, and irresponsibility.

From all indications, the role of the "Serbian Elliot Ness" who is supposed to chop off the extensive tentacles of crime and oppose the various mafias, "Sicilian business activity," lawlessness, robberies, blackmail, threats, war profiteering, "racketeering," ordered and unsolved murders, the trade in scarce goods, as well as drugs and weapons, will belong to Minister of Internal Affairs Zoran Sokolovic. If the comparison of Sokolovic, as a former apparatchik with a "police background," to the legendary policeman who crushed the Chicago Mafia during the 1930's seems inappropriate to someone, unfortunately there really are no other comparisons.

Belgrade, once one of the safest cities in the world, because of the reputation as a Mafia city that it has acquired today, is mentioned in many articles as the "Chicago of the Balkans" or the "Palermo of the Danube."

Doubts at the Start

Most analysts who deal with the problem of the abrupt criminalization of society do not dispute at all that many forms of organized crime are taking place under the auspices of the authorities, which are obtaining more and more funds from that source for waging war or for somehow preserving social peace. The claim that "crime has encompassed many state structures" was even used last week by the president of the Serbian Radicals, Dr. Vojislav Seselj, of whom one could not exactly say that he is not very familiar with the situation in the state bodies. The vice president of the SPS [Serbian Socialist Party], Goran Percevic, has also spoken about the corrupt part of the state apparatus that should be "completely disbanded, and new people should be brought in." While there are obviously not many dilemmas about determining the birthplace of the criminalization of society, there are regarding the birth date. Many people believe that everything started with the war and later only flared up with the imposition of the sanctions. Dr. Dejan Popovic claimed recently, however, that the so-called Colombian syndrome (the combination of the leaderships of political power with various forms of an economic underground and mafia) was inaugurated long before the economic blockade. During the last few months, Dr. Popovic claims, that method of "doing business" has only been completed by the state's measures, which actually indicates that it is a strategic orientation. Even if there had not been the circumstances that led to the sanctions, this economist thinks, the developed world would have recoiled from the Latin American virus in European surroundings.

His colleague, Dr. Danijel Cvjeticanin, in the same newspaper poll, pointed out that everything started even much earlier: "Five or six years ago," Dr. Cvjeticanin said, "certain people asked themselves, 'How should we get rich?' They found the answer in war, isolation, shortages, the general misery of the people, and the decline in the standard of living. In that system, the idea of the self-separation of the ruling caste as economically the strongest has been developed. Those false patriots are making inflammatory speeches today while the people are reducing their needs by a third...."

Of course, today it is less important to determine when it all started than to determine whether it can even be stopped and when—and whether the announced "determined struggle against crime" will also mean at the same time that the current authorities are willing to "bite their own tail." Reacting to last week's announcement by the government of the war on crime, representatives of the opposition parties, but also many independent intellectuals, primarily people close to the legal profession, are almost unanimously repeating "that arsonists cannot put out fires." There is doubt not only about the sincerity of the authorities' intentions of resolutely starting to work on curbing corruption and crime, but also about those authorities' ability to strike against a monster in whose creation they participated. In the meantime, things have gotten quite out of hand, and many "cadets of the school of state crime" now do not want to go back to where they came from before the war—to the underground or the margins of society. The rules of "the newly composed patriotism" are allowing them today to demand incomparably more—participation in the authorities. According to some opinions, that of Dr. Djuro Kovacevic, expressed recently in BORBA, the authorities apparently saw too late that they were acquiring quite serious competition.

"If crime has become a strategic component, and it has, and if many criminals have become the most prominent patriots, and they have, and if many of them have become the very emanation of the final goals, then we have legitimately acquired them as the masters of our everyday life. Just as we could once look at those who allegedly did the most for us on behalf of our future, and thus ruled our everyday life, we can see the same thing today, only much more drastically and much more monstrously.... If crime is the third biggest problem that has to be solved by the republic president and the authorities that he symbolizes, the question arises of whether that does not also mean that the authorities, at their highest level, have concluded that crime's possible usefulness in achieving patriotic goals has been fulfilled, and that it has reached a level at which crime is threatening to impose itself as the modulator and moderator of the overall state of society, from the economy to politics. I wonder whether we have perhaps already reached a level at which, through the reliance upon crime, parallel authorities are being created, not only over individuals and individual economic entities, but more generally, even as competition for the legal state authorities and their institutions?" Dr. Kovacevic said.

War With Dealers

So far all the similar criticisms that have multiplied during the past few days have gone without any comment from the ranks of the ruling party. It could be heard from "well-informed circles" that the first "resolute measures" for curbing crime and corruption would be announced as early as the next week, and that street

dealers would be among the first to be hit. Probably encouraged by these announcements, people from the national banks of Yugoslavia and Serbia have also spoken out in recent days, claiming that the bell had tolled for many private banks giving enormous interest on citizens' foreign exchange savings. In this regard, naturally, they were not thinking of the banks that are operating with the tacit blessings of the state, nor did they explain how for months now, the money from the primary issuance has necessarily been ending up in the hands of the dealers in the street. The chairman of the SPS deputies' group in the National Assembly, Zoran Andjelkovic, explained that the war that the government had declared against crime would start at the moment that the government prepared legal proposals and submitted them to the Assembly.

Most of the people in the [legal] profession, who have commented on the government's proposed measures in recent days, have proposed that a parliamentary commission for the struggle against crime be established as soon as possible. The general opinion is that that commission would be composed of the most prominent and most capable lawyers, criminologists, penologists, judges, policemen, social workers.... Dobrivoje Radovanovic, director of the Institute for Criminological and Sociological Research in Belgrade, stated to POLITIKA that this institute had already prepared a program for the struggle against crime. That program, which will be published soon, also mentions the formation of a special commission for the struggle against the corruption of state institutions. That kind of commission, which in the West is called "moral purity," would include "untouchable people" who would have the strength and power to comb through state institutions and prevent corruption.

Among the first who mentioned to the public the idea of establishing a special national council or committee for curbing crime was Belgrade lawyer Branislav Tapuskovic. That kind of council, lawyer Tapuskovic emphasized, would have to work exclusively under the jurisdiction and instructions of parliament. Any attempt to have the work of such a body subordinated to and colored by the interests of one party would mean that there would be nothing left of a real declaration of a war against crime.

"The decision by the government and President Milosevic to declare a war against abuses, corruption, and crime must be welcomed, but it seems to me that the whole thing has already started off in the wrong direction at the very beginning," lawyer Tapuskovic told VREME. "So far we have not received anything except promises wrapped in the usual empty phrases. Some announcements indicate that they will start now to amend the laws, increase penalties, and have an impact in terms of the consequences. I am afraid that this will take a lot of time, even though it is clear to everyone that even without new laws there is a great deal that can and must be done. The basic human right, the right to life, is threatened in this country, and there is no time to wait. The state's priority task is to guarantee everyone the right to life and the right to defend his positions. I personally do not have anything against having President Milosevic defended at all times by three bodyguards, but likewise every citizen of this country must be protected and safe everywhere. We do not need new laws for that. As long as I do not see completely specific programs for curbing crime, a patrolman as early as tomorrow on every street, and as long as our children do not go carefree to school and back, I have the right to doubt the authorities' serious intentions of really declaring a war on crime. I will sooner believe that it is just one more campaign without serious intentions of changing anything."

Quicksand

In the new government's "war" that has just been declared on crime, the well-known sociologist Dr. Vladan Vasiljevic sees, among other things, a new "facilely promised haste." In order for the state authorities to oppose social pathology and crime successfully, they would first of all have to create a strong scientific and professional nucleus for that job. Dr. Vasiljevic also supports the idea of an autonomous body with members of undisputed knowledge and professional integrity, but he also warns that just one servile or unreliable person in such a body ruins everything. In view of what has been done so far and in view of the state of the ideologized and monopolized theory of criminal policy, there can hardly be any institutional base for the announced opposition to crime. Consequently, our interlocutor emphasized, the euphoric statements about programs already prepared for the struggle against crime are a reminder of the need for caution.

Novi Sad lawyer Slobodan Beljanski has also expressed skepticism about the authorities' willingness actually to step into the quicksand that they mixed up themselves to a considerable extent. According to Beljanski, under the auspices of this state apparatus crime has developed to unheard-of limits. If the authorities tolerated or even encouraged that, they would themselves be acting as a factor generating crime, and it is hard to believe that such authorities can guide a war against crime without a decisive reversal and a strike against the culprits in their own ranks. As our interlocutor emphasized, the authorities' latent generation of crime also has another active dimension: "Ideological and ethnic intolerance, the media's promotion of willfulness and violence, the creation of a climate in which respect for the law is being eradicated not just as a cultural habit but also as anxiety in the face of superior force, the creation of political models from deviant personalities and phenomena that are part of social pathology, the imposition of a misunderstood epic ethic, heroic right and primitive habits—all of this has spurred crime and lawlessness," stated lawyer Beljanski.

The authorities' intention of declaring war on crime also reminds those with longer memories a bit of Tito's famous letter at the beginning of the 1970's. At that time there was

primarily a desire for quick results in achieving a "law-governed state" and in the "quantity" of suspicious cases, from which justice finally suffered. Through a law that applied retroactively, commissions were founded for investigating the origin of property, which had the right to break into anyone's house and investigate the origin of anyone's wealth—usually upon a complaint from some malicious commission. Municipal troikas rushed to weekend cottage developments looking for suspicious weekend cottages, and the whole thing died down after several years. As a rule, the system's strictness broke down with weak people. Naturally, no one paid any attention to those who started the whole thing.

The state's involvement in many criminal actions leaves sufficient room to suspect that in this war against crime, corruption, and all forms of illegality as well, in the end only the little fish will be caught in the net again—the street dealers who do not work for state banks, cigarette sellers, petty thieves, match sellers, or desperate people who have been forced today, after the national dignity has been restored, to write bad checks in order to survive, but not the creators of bad policies, the dealers in national illusions, drugs, and weapons, those who are deliberately impoverishing the people and in their name taking money away to Cyprus or who knows where.

Although it is hard to believe that the authorities responsible for creating a social climate in which crime is aspiring to rise as a parallel government will really start to "bite their own tail" soon, the newly elected government of "Untouchables" should not be denied its right to the attempt from the very start. Just as the Duke of Wellington was right at one time when he claimed that "The only thing worse than war is the end of one," those who claim that "The only thing worse than evil is making peace with evil" are right today.

Minister of Internal Affairs Zoran Sokolovic, the person to whom the role of the "first Serbian Elliot Ness" has unofficially fallen, is being offered an opportunity to go down in history for the second time in a brief period. He did it the first time when his policemen illegally occupied the premises of the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs. This time he has been assigned the by no means enviable role of the "contractor" who is supposed to pull Serbia out of the quicksand of crime. As the second person who is also expected to play a "historic role" in that job during the coming months, Dr. Tomislav Ilic, the newly elected minister of justice in the Serbian government, is also being mentioned. In recent days Dr. Ilic has been mentioned several times as the most serious candidate for chairman of a national committee for the struggle against crime, an independent body that must stand above the interests of any everyday policy or party.

If he does not succeed in that job, Dr. Ilic can be consoled by the fact that like Minister Sokolovic, he has also ensured a place in history—for example, with the statement at a meeting that Belgrade's POLITIKA recorded on 15 September 1990, while he was president of the Leskovac district court:

"...Tomislav Ilic emphasized in conclusion that the judges of Leskovac, Leban, and Vlasotinac worked throughout all of July and August on presenting the positions of the SPS, and therefore the fact that 33 members joined the new party (the SPS—author's note) in the Leskovac district court was not surprising...."

Majdanpek Mine Response to Sanctions

93BA0699C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 p 17

[Article by I. Teleskovic: "Millions Are Created by Small Numbers"]

[Text] *The flotation workers have reduced the steel lining by three grams per ton, and that is 6 million marks in savings in the final balance; a mixture of waste coal with some other materials has substituted for imported reagents; gentler slopes on the roads have reduced the consumption of tires, just one of which costs $26,000.*

Majdanpek, Feb—Since the sanctions have been in effect, our largest copper, gold, and silver mine in Majdanpek has not stopped production for a single day. It has fulfilled the production plan of 13 million tons of ore, and produced about 50 tons of copper, 560 kg of gold, 12 tons of silver, and 46,000 tons of magnetite concentrate for the Smederevo Ironworks.

Several elements had a crucial effect on those results. First of all, priority in obtaining oil has been observed. There was also a fairly large amount of imported spare parts, which were preserved like "the apple of one's eye." A high-slope conveyer belt was also put into operation, which replaces eight heavy vehicles, reduces the consumption of oil, and shortens transport paths from 4.2 km to an average of 800 meters. Also modernized has been flotation, where eight large machines are replacing about 120 collectors.

As we were informed by Dr. Milorad Grujic, assistant director for flotation production, the technological results are better than those achieved a year earlier.

"The machines are in use about 89 percent of the time, and it is hard to achieve that result even with completely new equipment," Grujic said. "The technological utilization is about 87 percent for copper, 65 percent for silver, and 55 percent for gold, which is the best result in this decade. That means that we have extracted every gram of metal from the ore."

The most attention was devoted to reducing costs. Small numbers are playing the main role in the game of big numbers. The flotation workers, consistently observing the technological requirements, have succeeded in reducing the consumption of steel linings from 36 grams per ton to 33 grams. When that is multiplied by 13 million tons of ore, and by the price of steel, one gets the imposing savings of 6 million marks. It is the same as with electricity: Consumption has been reduced from 23.3 kilowatt-hours per ton to 19.8, and that amounts to

a bill for 450 million dinars less for electricity. The consumption of reagents has also been reduced from 44 to 36 grams. Actually, there were no imported reagents, and so the flotation workers used waste coal mixed with some waste materials, but they were ashamed to report this as an innovation. Allegedly, this is not an "engineering solution," although it is quite a good answer to the blockade.

Miners in the surface pit are also "coping." They have build roads with smaller inclines and irregularities than before. The result has been a drastic reduction in the consumption of pneumatic tires, each of which costs $25,000. It also turned out that the Majdanpek metal workers can also copy every part from the imported dump trucks and produce it in a short time in their own shops.

"Unfortunately, the blockade coincided with our internal difficulties, increasingly more impoverished ore, longer transportation routes, and problems in continuing the process of modernizing the mine," explained Ljubisa Vagner, the director of RBM [Majdanpek Copper Mine]. "Our workers in direct production have shown that they can deal with difficulties of every type. Even if the blockade is lifted tomorrow, however, our problems and difficulties will remain. We can only hope that this is good experience that will also help us to surmount more easily the problems that still await us."

Director Vagner emphasized that after three decades of continuous operation this mine, to a great extent, had entered "old age," in which "old age problems" lay ahead.

Macedonia

President's Greetings for Greek National Day

LD2403171793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Skopje, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—Macedonian President Kiro Gigorov today sent a message of congratulations to Greek President Konstantin Karamanlis on the occasion of 25 March, the Greek independence day and national holiday.

Gligorov expressed sincere wishes for the development of good-neighborly relations between the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece and for the promotion of cooperation in all spheres of mutual interest.

Gligorov also expressed best wishes to President Konstantin Karamanlis personally as well as wishes for the prosperity of Greece, the cabinet of President Kiro Gligorov said in a statement.

Kosovo

Serbian Assembly Approves Budget for Kosovo

LD2403134293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—Deputies in the Assembly of Serbia today adopted a budget for Kosovo and Metohija worth 64.4 billion dinars. The amount is earmarked for financing activities that the Province of Kosovo and Metohija is obliged to carry out as part of its rigths and duties within the republic and for financing the work of authorities, organizations, and expert services in the province.

The largest part of the amount, 35.8 billion dinars, will be spent on salaries for employees in provincial organs. An amount of 13.8 billion dinars is earmarked for financing the work and the development of the public media. The rest will be used to finance cultural institutions and other organizations and for budgetary reserves.

Alliance Protests Arrest of Council Member Krasniqi

AU2503065293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] The Kosovo Democratic Alliance Presidency yesterday protested the Serbian police's ambiguous apprehension of Abdyl Krasniqi, a member of this party's Central Council. The arrest of Mr. Krasniqi deeply shook the Kosovo public. His arrest, which was done without any warning, testifies that police violence is escalating and is directed more and more toward Albanian political and cultural personalities.

The communique later states that this act by the Serbian regime marks a new step in deepening the crisis, a new aggravation of the situation in Kosovo, a provocation, and a dangerous challenge to the home public and the whole international community.

Meanwhile, it is announced that Dr. Abdyl Krasniqi was released yesterday afternoon after being detained for 24 hours. The Serbian authorities have not yet explained this act of theirs.

Hungarian Minority Leader on 'Foreign Intervention'

LD2403144893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 24 Mar 93

[Text] Novi Sad, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—Andras Agoston, president of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM], insisted again last night in the Intervju program on Novi Sad television that in his interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP of 16 March he did not ask for foreign military intervention if the Hungarian population of Vojvodina begins to be killed in large numbers.

"What I told the Budapest-based paper was that if that happened the DZVM would seek help primarily from those political factors who are in charge of the conference on former Yugoslavia. This, however, has been discussed before and I cannot understand why what I said has caused such a storm just now. In other words, I was talking about one of the possibilities which, fortunately, does not seem realistic at the moment," Agoston stressed during his conversation with Marko Kekovic, acting director and editor in chief of Novi Sad television.

In brief, the DZVM leader accused TANJUG of misinterpreting the MAGYAR HIRLAP article and, according to him, he handed over the original and authentic translation to Zoran Lilic, president of the Assembly of Serbia.

In the above article, under the title: "Andras Agoston: Not Even a Peaceful Revision", the DZVM president said the following:

"If there are to be mass killings, houses forcibly seized, or an internal war, Vojvodina Hungarians, as the sole unarmed national group, would be left defenceless, and in that case we would seek international protection. Only the the western countries taking part in the peace conference on Yugoslavia would be able to provide such protection."

However, last night Agoston failed to mention a passage from his interview in which it was indicated that in a particular situation the DZVM would seek foreign intervention.

Asked if "Hungary is counted on to take part in a foreign intervention," Agoston said that he does not "see Hungarian interference as a realistic possibility as that would simply increase the danger" (for local Hungarians).

Agoston also repeated that the Vojvodina Hungarians are not armed, but he offered no evidence for the claim that other nations and nationalities in the region are armed apart from saying "shots can frequently be heard in municipalities where Hungarians live."

According to the DZVM chairman, Vojvodina Hungarians are not separatists and the concept of tripartite autonomy, which also presupposes territorial autonomy, "is not the first step to secession, as some papers and politicians claim." The DZVM objective, Agoston went on to say, is to build a system which will enable Hungarians in the region to survive into the 21st century, but only "with democratic means, within the framework of Serbia and on the basis of the constitution and laws."

Agoston said that a CSCE mission is welcome in Vojvodina, because "it would act preventatively." Regarding a report by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, special envoy of the UN secretary general, information about the alleged destruction of churches and Hungarian homes "does not come from the DZVM."

"We say the same to everyone, both to the domestic public and to foreign collocutors. We talk mostly about the concept of autonomy and the erosion of our rights, by which I mean psychological war and war propaganda, forcible mobilization and several laws of the Republic of Serbia in the field of education and the official use of language and alphabet," Agoston stressed adding that two days ago he sent a letter to federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic calling for dialogue.